

Gromyko sounds warning note on Nato missiles

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was caught on the hop by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko at the end of their talks in Bonn.

Mr Gromyko, out of the blue, publicly said that there would be no question of talks on reduction of medium-range nuclear missiles if Nato were to decide to update its missile system.

Herr Genscher immediately called a meeting of advisers to consider this unexpected development.

Mr Gromyko, a confidant of Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and politbureau member, had by no means been so direct behind closed doors in Bonn.

But maybe that was because diplomats and politicians often do not ask questions as straight out as journalists did at his 23 November press conference.

It has since been learnt that he told his opposite numbers in Bonn, including Chancellor Schmidt, a straight story too. This was evident from the increasingly gloomy nature of the scant news that filtered through about the atmosphere of the talks.

In the final communiqué there was merely a mention of the various talks



Nato summit as the Bonn Government still hopes.

To judge by the facts, as publicly available, the Soviet Union has not the slightest intention of taking lying down a Western decision to station Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Europe.

It is to continue manufacturing and stationing its own SS-20 medium-range nuclear missile and to press ahead with production of the Backfire bomber.

So Moscow's twofold strategy in recent weeks has been to make America's partners in Europe feel at least uneasy and to make them out to be responsible for continuation of the Continental strategic arms race.

What makes Bonn so confident that Moscow, despite a Nato decision to go ahead with nuclear modernisation, remains prepared to hold immediate talks on medium-range missiles?

For the time being it is hard to see what can possibly justify any such assumption. It is certainly not borne out by anything Mr Gromyko had to say.

Yet leading West German politicians were saying only a few days beforehand that the Soviet Foreign Minister would refrain from jawboning Western Europe

in Bonn. The Russians are realists, and as the great power with the greatest leeway for action at present they have no need to curry favour with Western Europe. They certainly have no reason to make life easy for the Social Democratic party conference, to be held in West Berlin from 3 to 7 December.

The Social Democrats face the problem of having to endorse a disarmament resolution that practically amounts to a decision to rearm.

There is no earthly reason why Moscow should save delegates' consciences with the good news that the Kremlin is delighted with the whole idea.

Seasoned tactician Gromyko's Bonn lecture has already had results. Left-wing Social Democrat Erhard Eppler has termed the stationing of new medium-range missiles in Germany a "provocation of the Soviet Union."

Pressure on the Dutch Government has been stepped up too, while in Denmark it has again been suggested that it might, perhaps, be better to postpone



Before the storm broke: Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (left) in Bonn with the West German Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher. (Photo: Bundesbildstelle)

a final decision on the stationing of missiles for a further six months.

Yet the world's longest-serving Foreign Minister is well aware that the Soviet Union is even less capable than the West of keeping up the current suicidal pace of the arms race.

In the end the two sides will have no choice but to get together and come to terms on a limitation of the grey zone malady.

But, always assuming they succeed in arriving at a reasonably acceptable compromise, when are they going to do so and how long will it take?

Eghard Mörbitz

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 November 1979)

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A city centre to live in

We all need somewhere to live, quality of life, and since Berlin was declared an architectural heritage and urban renewal pilot city in 1975 restorers have been busy face-lifting Wilhelminian wrinkles and the chief conservation officer has been listing and salvaging characteristic, handsome facades. Safeguards for the quality of urban life and retention of the city centre as somewhere to live are major tasks for the future. The 1984 Berlin International Housing Exhibition will help to solve them.

Berlin is facing the challenge of drawing up exemplary concepts of housing. In 1980 the largest urban renewal programme in Europe will enter its third phase. 150,000 of Berlin's 450,000 older apartments will be demolished and 300,000 modernised. For further information contact: Press and Information Office 46/79, Rathaus Schöneberg, 1000 Berlin 62.

BERLIN

having taken place in an "enlightened spirit" and been "useful." That was surely the least that might have been expected.

Before the talks the story current in Bonn was somewhat different. It was self-confidently asserted that Moscow had practically come to terms with the Nato decision.

A number of pundits even went so far as to claim that Mr Gromyko had brought with him an offer by the Kremlin to cease production of the dreaded medium-range missiles if the West were prepared to negotiate the number of its proposed counter-missiles.

If, on the other hand, Mr Gromyko's comments to correspondents in Bonn are taken at face value the West is not going to cut such a fine figure after the

Bonn is still working on the assumption that Moscow will be prepared, even after the Nato decision to modernise medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, to hold "grey zone" disarmament talks with the West.

Until the North Atlantic Council meets in Brussels in mid-December there will no doubt be further polemics along the lines of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's 23 November Bonn press conference.

But no-one seriously expects the door to be closed on negotiations, to judge by a review of Mr Gromyko's visit made for and referred to Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher after hints from diplomatic circles.

In confidential talks with Herr Schmidt and Herr Genscher Mr Gromyko had taken care to keep the controversy over medium-range missiles within bounds and not to allow it to assume the proportion of the central problem.

People who took part in the Soviet Foreign Minister's official talks did not gain the impression that Soviet Policy was aimed flat-out at escalation.

Shadow Chancellor Franz Josef Strauss told the national conference of Junge Union, the Christian Democratic and Christian Social Union youth wing, he had been given to understand much the same.

Bonn confident Moscow will still talk

In private the Soviet Foreign Minister had sounded a much quieter and more level-headed note than in his forthright public statements.

Immediately before flying home Mr Gromyko stressed in a final conversation with Herr Genscher that talks had been held in a cordial spirit.

He attached special importance to the inclusion in the final communiqué of the Soviet invitation to the Chancellor and his Foreign Minister to visit Moscow.

It is announced in Bonn that Herr Schmidt will be taking up the invitation soon and expects to visit the Soviet capital early next year.

Bonn envisages the further course of Nato deliberations as follows. The North Atlantic Council will approve the missile modernisation programme on 12 December, then the United States will make the Soviet Union a Western negotiation offer.

Bonn reckons soundings on the

West's disarmament proposals could begin even before Salt 2 is ratified.

Talks are to get under way promptly to encourage the Vienna MBFR troop-cut talks and preparations for the Madrid CSCE follow-up conference.

Social Democratic disarmament expert Alfons Pawelczyk is all in favour of synchronising bids to rearm and to disarm: "In my opinion Nato must stand by its intention of drafting clear negotiation proposals.

"They must make it clear that European Nato countries are prepared to allow US-developed medium-range nuclear missiles to be stationed in Europe.

"But it must also be understood they are only prepared to do so on condition that the decision to base these new missiles in Europe is scrapped entirely or in part provided arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union achieve satisfactory results."

Asked whether he felt Mr Gromyko's jawboning would have any effect on the Social Democratic party conference, Herr Pawelczyk said:

"I am working on the assumption that a conference majority will endorse the resolution on Security Policy in a Peace

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New outlook on European frontier issues

German reunification as a long-term target is back in business as a subject for speculation and debate in Western newspapers and at West German public meetings.

In an interview with Radio Monte Carlo Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has also talked in terms of a "common roof" under which people in both German States might one day be reunited.

For 30 years Western European integration and German reunification were official policy aims espoused by Bonn even though, in the final analysis, they seemed to be mutually exclusive.

The first three Bonn administrations, headed by Konrad Adenauer, actively endorsed the aim of Western European union, of which the European Communities (the Coal and Steel Community, the EEC and Euratom) were adjudged to be a precursor.

After the transitional Chancellors of Ludwig Erhard and Kurt Georg Kiesinger the Cabinets led by Willy Brandt, with Walter Scheel as Foreign Minister, and Helmut Schmidt, with Hans-Dietrich Genscher as Foreign Minister, saw the enlargement of the EEC to include Britain, Denmark and Ireland.

Attempts were also made to expand the Community in depth, by means of a monetary union and social policy measures.

Bonn's Ostpolitik formed part of the detente policy uniformly approved by the West and in no way ran counter to further integration within the EEC.

East bloc treaties merely confirmed the status quo subsequently endorsed by the terms of the 1975 Helsinki accords.

General recognition of the status quo in Europe could hardly fail to herald a gradual change in circumstances, as the more far-sighted observers well realised at the time.

General de Gaulle may, from 1958 to 1968, still have been interested in supranational moves as a means of ensuring West Germany incorporation in Western Europe.

Whether EEC countries in the post-de Gaulle era were still interested in this means of forestalling German reunification is another matter.

At all events interest finally subsided under the impression, conveyed by Bonn's East bloc treaties and by the Helsinki accords, that frontier issues had been settled once and for all.

At the same time the veto right of EEC member-governments in the Council of Ministers, first enforced by General de Gaulle, remained strictly in force.

The EEC Commission's role as a supranational body was systematically scaled down, especially by Britain and France, and regular summit meetings of the Nine's leaders have, since 1974, taken pride of place.

Under the austerality of the European Council, as these summit meetings have come to be known, the Common Market has emerged as a community of "sovereign States."

Direct elections to the European Assembly were originally envisaged by French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing as a bid to resume supranational development of the Community.

But Britain's House of Commons and

the French National Assembly passed legislation to make sure the European Parliament's powers were strictly limited.

EEC membership for Greece, Portugal and Spain should ensure that substantial intensification of Western European integration remains a dead letter for the time being.

In the past Bonn has by no means made full use of its Brussels options to promote German or intra-German interests in dealings with the East bloc. But this could change.

At present the West German three quarters of the German people are managing without earth-shaking political visions. Last June's direct elections to the European Assembly did not, for instance, give rise to more than feeble interest.

In Europarlament debates so far, German MPs have clearly been shown by the others what constitutes the "national interest," even at meetings of party-political groupings.

The more the British, French, Danish and Dutch demonstrate their unwavering view of the nation as the overriding concept of unity, the more readily "redness with Europe" may lead in Germany to a recollection of the value of nationhood.

As yet intra-German links such as the German language, other problems and currents of thought have mainly concerned intellectuals and politicians in West Germany.

In the GDR, after a propaganda era during which a socialist community extending from the Elbe to the Pacific was given priority, the concept "German" has regained official approval since about the time of East German cosmonaut Slegfried Jähne's space mission.

In West Berlin, still nominally occupied by the wartime Allies, the division of Germany is felt most poignantly.

On a recent visit M. Giscard d'Estaing tried to make this extraordinary state of affairs more palatable by claiming that "our rights are your security."

But millions of viewers on German TV screens must have felt this job most keenly. Older Germans may feel it to be more tolerable in view of German responsibility for the Second World War.

In the long run younger Germans, who have grown up since the war, can hardly fail to feel West Berlin's position is increasingly anachronistic in view of the changes that have taken place in the balance of power.

The change has been particularly marked in relation to Bonn on the one hand and Britain and France, 1945 Allies, on the other.

But the younger generation is no longer as convinced of the power and the glory of the third Western power, America, as its predecessors were 20 years ago.

So far the younger generation, in particular has tended to accept the division of Germany as a fact, being conversant with the idea of an all-German State no more than by hearsay.

But the GDR suffers from a running psychological sore. The mere existence of West Berlin in the middle of GDR territory tends, subconsciously at least, to upset any idea of permanence.

Submerged emotion might well come to the surface in both German States if improvements in intra-German ties were to give rise to hopes of reunification, although no-one can say for sure whether it would.

But the same is true of a situation in which the two Governments no longer feel able to pursue policies of cautious rapprochement such as have marked the past 10 years.

Erich Hauser
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 November 1979)

Iran conflict confounds the old theories

Little more than a decade ago an American specialist in conflict research described and distinguished between more than 40 different rungs of escalation on the crisis ladder.

But his model does not look like proving much use in the current conflict between Iran and the United States, which is not a case of an aggressor threatening to wage war or to resort to violence (except, perhaps, against the hostages).

The threat is of chaos, and it doesn't make the crisis any less serious or managing it any easier. What, then, are the main features of this new-look challenge?

First, there is the time factor. Initial success is always to the advantage of the aggressor, be he a latter-day hostage-taker or a conventional invader.

But when an attack can no longer be improved on, initial gains are merely a dead pledge, and when hostages are taken their value declines faster than that of enemy strongholds overrun or territory occupied.

Flesh-and-blood hostages are perishable and as such, from the viewpoint of terrorists who have taken them, a burden in the final analysis.

It was hardly surprising that the Iranian regime sought to see the back of

some of them once its blackmail demands met with determined resistance.

The fanaticism of the culprits on the spot was so intense it could not be further intensified, and there are no signs of greater solidarity on the general public's part than beforehand.

Outside Iran, in other Moslem countries, applause has been scarce. Egypt's President Sadat even called the hostage-taking a "disgrace to Islam."

The victim, on the other hand, has gained in psychological terms, having responded as a nation.

US opinion has been mobilised in a way in which neither weapons systems nor economic statistics but solely intellectual impetus counts.

The inordinate nature of the root cause of the trouble becomes its cure, with solidification helping the United States to stand the test.

The crisis may even prove beneficial for other crises, so lasting is the effect it has had.

Many foreign powers will now find it tougher than in the past to cross swords with a United States that was long dazed by the shock of the Vietnam war.

It remains to be seen whether this psychological motivation will spread to America's allies too.

The Western world might well come to regard the clash between Teheran and Washington as an opportunity of surmounting its own lamentable condition.

As time runs out and psychological tension mounts, economic vulnerability comes to the fore as another factor, but must first be assessed in terms of the first two.

The effect of economic disadvantages depends, in the final analysis, in part on continued determination to bear the brunt of them.

In this respect Iranian oil as a weapon

has lost its cutting edge; if the American people are prepared to accept the discomfort they can withstand the loss of part of their oil imports.

But in the middle of the conflict's second week the redirection of cash flow has taken the clash a step further, and it is a blow that is more difficult to parry.

The US Government has responded with determination and, arguing that this was a national emergency, frozen Iranian dollar assets on deposit with US banks.

Yet even this, like most effective counter-moves, is a stratagem that will hit the United States too, upsetting America's friends.

Its side-effects are hard to assess, interfering in the free flow of money may cause a decline in confidence and in certain circumstances, lead to one beating a hasty retreat, intent on saving their own skin.

The US Government and the American people will doubtless not be slow in ensuring that the saga of the hostages at the US embassy in Teheran does not at this higher level, rebound to the aggressor's benefit after all.

All Western industrialised nations, facing the threat of irrational behaviour in parts of the Third World, must play their part in ensuring this is not the case.

The price that has to be paid may be a high one, but it would be higher still if a fanatical mob and the Ayatollah's regime were to be allowed with impunity to plunge the world into chaos.

Maybe the West will find that in countering the threat it has more allies than it imagined.

At the non-aligned conference in Havana, US imperialism, whatever that is, was continually pilloried in public, but on the quiet the behaviour of a number of oil producers was condemned in much more convincing terms.

At the end of the second week of the conflict America's position has improved. Provided the United States lasts the distance America might well, both psychologically and economically, emerge better able to deal with many of the ills that beset the world.

This may be scant consolation for the remaining hostages at the US embassy, but their role must continue to be that of catalysts whose purpose is to help change the world for the better and make it altogether more desirable and human.

Ernst-Otto Maerke
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 November 1979)

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Social Democrats warned of pitfalls in programme changes

Herbert Wehner, the Social Democrat floor leader, says that calls for a new party programme "only make his mouth twitch."

At the same time he warns the SPD against becoming an "ideological party" again, invoking the spectre of the Weimar Republic.

And the SPD should not under any circumstances regard itself as a "protest party," because it was in power and had to put as many of its ideas as possible into practical politics.

Did this mean the SPD had to become a "Chancellor party?"

Herr Wehner said he would never advise the SPD to be content with the fact that it had a Chancellor.

The floor leader of the SPD thus described the two extreme positions — one rather more threatening than the other — between which the SPD as a party in power must continually seek its identity anew.

Now, with the party conference coming up in Berlin at the beginning of December, it is trying to determine how much political scope it has if, on the one hand, it does not want to be forgotten as a party and, on the other, does not want to swerve from its loyalty to Chancellor Schmidt.

There has been a reaction against theory in the party in the past few years, a reaction which sometimes even amounts to hostility.

The SPD is not, as the flood of resolutions shows, developing into a "programme party" in the traditional sense.

On the contrary, it is tending, as Herr Wehner justifiably complains, to get bogged down "in the perfectionism of detail and quantification." The party members want to have their say on the details at least if the broad lines of policy cannot be changed.

The clearest and for the SPD most worrying example of how limited this scope is that of foreign policy. The conflict will be difficult because it will not simply be a matter of the left against the right wing; after all this is a traditional subject for the SPD.

The disappointment is over the limitations this policy imposes, but criticism is also directed at leading SPD politicians in the government, Chancellor Schmidt and his Minister of Defence, Hans Josef Strauss.

He was commenting on a case, mentioned in the weekly *Der Spiegel*, on November 19 in which two Czechs, who had applied for asylum, were handed over to Czech police in November 1978.

Herr Strauss, making a statement after a long silence, said it was also intolerable that decisions of this sort were taken at the lower administrative levels.

He called for a strict examination of the legal situation, what actually happened and who was responsible.

Bavarian Interior Minister Tandler has now admitted that last year 57 applicants for political asylum were turned away. Only 47 were allowed to enter West Germany, having convinced the border police authorities that they were being persecuted politically.

The two Czechs were handed over to Czech police officials with the explanation that they had run out of money on a tour, according to Herr Heller, official at the Landrat Office in Berchtesgaden.

Miloslav Svoboda, deputy chairman of Czech Social Aid, said that the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior looked into the controversial deportations of two Czech citizens at the beginning of this year. He

defence options would have to be determined in order to become effective in the event of the breakdown of efforts to bring about arms control.

At this time the scope seemed to be quite large. Only later did some of those involved — Schmidt, Apel, Wehner, Ehmke, Pawelczyk, Brandt and Bahr — come to realise that this country's commitments to Nato allowed no way back and that a veto against the installation of new nuclear weapons was unthinkable.

The cabinet agreed on this. Foreign Minister Genscher has publicly stated that the Nato Nuclear Planning Group in the Hague had set the signals for the meeting in December. So what can the party conference do?

It is no accident that the quotations by Herr Wehner, whenever he tried to inject life into the dialogue on disarmament, were treated with the utmost reverence in many party resolutions.

They reflect the hope that independent policies must be possible which are more than just the sum of the pressure of facts. But in practice Herr Wehner has not got very far. The result of the latest dispute between him and Herr Apel can be read in the "Recommendations to the Resolution Commission."

The controversial passages on disarmament policy sound like a somewhat defiant statement that they would have liked to stick to their own disarmament aims if circumstances had only allowed.

The SPD has long since staked out its position on atomic energy. The opponents of atomic energy have agreed on a joint resolution which would "practically make possible" a "gradual moving away from the use of atomic energy."

The same goes for the attempt to develop an ecological overall concept which would combine economic and

This resolution sticks to the formula of the 1977 Hamburg party conference which made the go-ahead for atomic power plants being built dependent on safe final storage. Interim atomic dumps are not acceptable instead. Finally, the resolution already opposes the opening of the fast breeder reactor at Kalkar.

This confirms, if confirmation were needed, that the conflict on atomic energy will not end in Berlin and indeed cannot be ended at all.

The supporters of atomic energy say that it is only an interim technology. We will not know how serious they are in saying this until after the decisions on fast breeder technology.

Even in the question of road speed limits as a symbol of the credibility of energy-saving plans shows how political scope is limited from outside. There is little inclination within the SPD to recommend a strict speed limit of 100 or 80 kph.

Here there is concern that any drop in sales in the car industry might be blamed on the government party in the election year — even though there is no connection between a speed limit and such a development.

Media policies constitute a small exception to the rule. Here it is possible that a position may be formulated which would impose reasonable limits on technological change and bear in mind that the need for such "progress" is a somewhat dubious one.

The same goes for the attempt to develop an ecological overall concept which would combine economic and

Strauss condemns principle of summary asylum refusals

It is politically intolerable that applicants for political asylum to the Federal Republic of Germany are simply sent back, says the Bavarian Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss.

He was commenting on a case, mentioned in the weekly *Der Spiegel*, on November 19 in which two Czechs, who had applied for asylum, were handed over to Czech police in November 1978.

Herr Strauss, making a statement after a long silence, said it was also intolerable that decisions of this sort were taken at the lower administrative levels.

He called for a strict examination of the legal situation, what actually happened and who was responsible.

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Miloslav Svoboda, deputy chairman of Czech Social Aid, said that the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior looked into the controversial deportations of two Czech citizens at the beginning of this year. He

said that his organisation had written about the deportation to Prime Minister Strauss in December 1978 and had spoken over the phone to the director of the Constitution and State Administration department of the Ministry of the Interior.

Interior Minister Tandler, on the other hand, said that he only found out about the affair on 25 October.

Bonn Minister of the Interior Gerhard Baum has rejected accusations by Herr Tandler and the CSU that he knew about the deportations but did not tell Herr Tandler.

In a letter Herr Baum wrote that on 30 July 1979 the Bonn Interior Ministry warned the Bavarian Interior Ministry that possible breaches of the asylum law could have occurred. This letter was only answered after a reminder on 4 September. In the reply, the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior said it had dealt with the matter thoroughly.

A "detailed examination" of the case had shown "that the actions of the officials involved was legally unobjectionable."

As a result of this, "unsatisfactory reply," Herr Baum said, he had asked Herr Tandler to look into the matter.

Herr Baum said he had to date received no reply to this letter.

Karl Stankewitz
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 November 1979)

environmental considerations. The Hesse South SPD has developed a concept along these lines for the party conference. At any rate, this resolution could be an example of a policy bearing the unmistakable stamp of the SPD. The party executive's environmental policies are general and vague, whereas here an attempt is made to describe more long term goals but also to make small and specific proposals for improvements now.

In this concept all simple, either/or formulations, growth or zero growth, atomic energy or "the lights will go out", nationalisation or privatisation are deliberately avoided.

Perhaps with this concept the SPD may succeed in finding a political answer to the ecological movement — an answer it has failed to give up to now.

This would go beyond the mere tactical question of how the SPD should deal with the ecological party, a subject which is highly controversial within the party.

Helmut Schmidt, Willy Brandt and Egon Bahr were deeply divided on this issue within the party executive recently. Herr Schmidt tends towards the opinion that the ecologists and other alternative parties' importance is exaggerated in the media and from within the ranks of the SPD.

Herr Wehner has written something along these lines. At the same time he warned the SPD against the attempt to woo young voters who do not feel attracted to the party and would find a party going out of its way to appear "young" or "ecological" contemptible.

Herr Schmidt and Herr Wehner on the one hand and Herr Brandt and Herr Bahr on the other are not divided on whether the SPD should consider the ecologists as opponents in election year.

They are all agreed on this. The dispute is not about whether the SPD should develop into a protest party against the Government to take the wind out of the sails of smaller opponents. The question essentially is how great the change of consciousness in the young generation is. At the moment the conflict cannot be resolved. It will be with the SPD into the next decade.

After 10 years of SPD/FDP rule, the SPD has taken up a role between that of Chancellor and programme party.

This makes it difficult to see the purpose and the reasoning behind policies. It prefers to concentrate on matters of detail. Because the party lacks a direction and not a programme, Herbert Wehner quotes the words of Gustav Heinemann that the secret of great and revolutionary action lies in finding "precisely the small step which is also a strategic step because it inevitably brings with it other steps towards a better reality."

This is not only the ideal concept for a government party, it is also its eternal dilemma. Herbert Wehner may occasionally manage to fulfil his "double role" and cause the government "embarrassment" as Max Frisch once advised him to do while at the same time keeping the party united.

On the one hand, he leads the attack against all those in the party who are proud of their "imagined progressiveness" but on the other he leads the troops of the party against Hans Matthöfer or Kurt Gscheidele and if need be also against Helmut Schmidt.

But not even Wehner always manages to find the small steps which illustrate the broad overall lines of policy. Willy Brandt has lost some of his authority and has even more difficulty in this respect.

Gunter Hofmann
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 November 1979)

■ CRIME

Clash over conflict between police needs and people's privacy

People's right to privacy and police need for information — two often conflicting demands — caused heated exchanges at a meeting of criminal experts in Wiesbaden.

Delegates, who included policemen, lawyers and scientists from various parts of the world, listened as the subject of computers in criminal investigation led to strong words.

One of the principal clashes came when the Federal Commissioner for Data Protection, Professor Hans Peter Bull, said that the most important data banks lacked a basis in law.

The head of the Federal Criminal Investigation Office (BKA), Dr Horst Herold, accused Professor Bull of engaging in data protection for its own sake.

Professor Bull said that the computerised system of tracking down by observation, dubbed BEFA, and the PIOS computer system with its data banks on persons suspected of terrorism, and its files were highly suspect.

Together with the information system created by Dr Herold and dubbed INPOL, these data banks have been decisive in shedding light on the terrorist scene and bringing about relative peace.

These systems, said Dr Herold, have also been a great help in combating organised drug peddling and tracking down stolen cars. They have also helped quickly to vindicate innocent people.

But Professor Bull ("as is his job," he was accused) sees around him a "Big Brother" state. The people, said Professor Bull, were involved in a tedious struggle to achieve more privacy.

He termed the gathering of information by the Prosecutor's Office and the



police a violation of citizens' rights on a par with the search of a home and arrest.

"The people see in the police the might of the state. We should come to understand that mistrust of the state is a democratic virtue."

This statement led to the question by one participant: "How are young people to defend this state if mistrusting it is made a virtue?"

BKA Vice-President Dr Günter Gernsheim reminded the delegates that the police act under the rule of law and that this action is governed by the principle of proportionality.

The police, he said, did not make use of all technical possibilities of electronic data processing but used it only to the extent necessary to fulfil their function of safeguarding law and order and hence the citizen.

Herr Rebmann, Chief Federal Prosecutor, stressed that it was extremely questionable for the data protection commissioner to voice doubts about the legality of police work.

"This," he said, "must create the impression as if the police were using illegal means in their work, and this, in turn, must arouse the public's mistrust."

Bremen's Senator of the Interior, Helmut Fröhlich, also said that he had the impression that data protection went too far.

All that mattered in data protection was the citizen's protection from the abuse of data. An assistant of his interjected: "Self-managing by the state is the best way of making it defenceless."

Police practitioners stressed time and again that selective tracking of criminals would be impossible without information.

Such selective tracking related only to a small circle of specific people, unlike police work in pre-computer days where a very large number had to be included in a dragnet, making it inevitable for innocent people to become involved.

The following example was given: In the course of such selective tracking, the computer came up with the information that police work should concentrate on a specific night express to Paris.

The 350 passengers were then checked out and their data fed to the computer, which resulted in the arrest of two terrorist couriers.

In the course of similar actions, the police have also managed to arrest 350 drug pushers.

Excessive data protection could destroy much of the good work that has been done, said the chairman of the meeting, Dr Karl-Heinz Gemmer.

Without such computerised selective tracking, he said, it would have been very difficult to catch the alleged terrorist Heiseler.

And without the BEFA system the BKA and the Länder CIDs would not have been able to gain a virtually complete insight into the terrorist scene and its periphery.

Dr Herold: "The data banks in this connection contain about 600 names and not whole population groups."

But Professor Bull holds that the envisaged exchange of data between the CID, the Motor Vehicle Registration Office and the Alien's Registry has no basis in law.

An on-line link, in other words, a link enabling any of these authorities to ob-

tain instant information, he said, was also not feasible.

The Central Motor Vehicle Registration Office in Flensburg contains data on 2.5 cars, and this information is needed by the police in tracking down stolen vehicles — a job made much easier since the police started using cruising patrol cars equipped with computer terminals through which they can obtain information from Flensburg.

Destroying this system would mean destroying something that never both the motorist who is not driving a stolen car.

This system need only be feared by wrongdoers, and it facilitates the locating of stolen vehicles enormously.

Professor Bull was asked time and again whether he did not agree that most people feel safe from abuse of data by those state institutions that control crime and that are subject to parliamentary control.

Was it not better, he was asked, to accept such data banks rather than more liberty to those who insist on privacy while at the same time limiting the democratic state or endangering the citizen's life and property?

Professor Bull countered this by pointing to the many letters he received and to discussions with students who showed him how in an "excessively powerful police state" the "visions of justice" become obvious and how the citizen loses more and more of his freedoms.

In view of this heated dispute over the possibilities and limits of police tracking by means of electronics, many of the 500 delegates asked themselves whether a case reported by the Israeli Police General David Kraus was to be termed progressive or retrogressive: Is 'raeli police, were extremely successful, the general reported, by subjecting eye witnesses who could remember nothing to hypnosis.

This had led to the swift recapture of eight escaped prisoners and the apprehension of terrorists.

Gottfried H. Philipp
(Kleiner Nachrichten, 20 November 1978)

Terrorists 'are regrouping for new strike'

cords as a mere sympathiser and then as a supporter.

On 6 September 1976, he for the first time took active part in a crime. According to BKA records, he was part of the gang that robbed a bank in Offenbach. Wagner is said to have used the same weapon that was used in killing Hanns Martin Schleyer's four bodyguards in the course of the industrialist's kidnapping.

Wagner's participation in the murders of Chief Federal Prosecutor Siegfried Bu-back and the banker Jürgen Ponto has not been proven, so is not mentioned in the arrest warrant.

In May 1977, Wagner became one of the terrorist leaders. Due to his fluency in Spanish, English and French, he was primarily used as an international liaison man.

BKA officers tracked him to Belgrade where he was arrested together with Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Peter Boock, 27, and Siegfried Hofmann, 33.

On 17 November 1978, Yugoslavia freed the four because Bonn had refused to extradite alleged Croatian extremists.

There had been no sign of the four alleged terrorists until the Zürich incident.

Though travellers and secret service agencies frequently reported that the four had been seen in Iraq, South Yemen and Lebanon, there is no information about their having taken part in any crimes.

The fact that Wagner should have been arrested exactly one year after deportation from Yugoslavia has added fuel to a suspicion long held by security experts: That Belgrade released the four prisoners on condition that they commit no crimes for a year.

Belgrade evidently wanted to prevent creating the impression that it was directly to blame for a crime committed by the four.

It was Wagner's conspicuous appearance that proved his undoing in Zürich. After the attack on the bank, for which the gang arrived on bicycles, a customer of the bank saw Wagner waiting for a streetcar. He recognised him by his unmistakable bent posture.

A BKA team immediately flew to Zürich to assist the Swiss authorities in tracking down the other terrorists, providing the Swiss police with the necessary information.

BKA experts assume that the four has hiding places in or around Zürich.

Horst Zimmermann
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 20 November 1978)

■ LABOUR

'More imagination' needed to cut unemployment



Many problems of the West German labour market could be solved if employers used more goodwill and imagination, according to the president of the Federal Labour Office, Josef Stöckl.

He says this applies particularly to part-time workers. The argument is that it is only when employers are up to their necks in trouble because of a lack of workers — as many hotels and restaurants are now — are new ideas to attract labour thought up.

Then, all of a sudden, even part-time workers are in demand.

Rigid thinking and equally rigid regulations and collective bargaining deals frequently prevent imaginative solutions in seeking new patterns of employment.

This applies in equal measure to employers and unions. In other countries — particularly in the United States — imagination has much more scope.

Those willing to try something new are free to do so. And when they come up with a solution that benefits both business and employee, no one objects to it.

But there have also been unorthodox solutions in this country. Above all the Food and Catering Union (NGG) and some employers' associations in that sector have had the courage to explore new territory.

Thus a union deal with the cigarette industry, negotiated by the NGG, permits staffers who have been with a company for 10 years or longer and have reached the age of 60 to choose between various options until retirement age at 65: they can either stop working altogether and draw 75 per cent of their pay until the age of 65 or they can draw full pay and work only half the normal 40-hour week.

Those wanting to continue full-time are, of course, free to do so.

A limited group of workers therefore now has a working time arrangement with a great deal of scope. This type of setup is obviously more in keeping with the image of a mature citizen than the rigid rules that we have inherited from a past authoritarian era in which the individual had virtually no leeway.

The new system has been in operation for two years, enough to study the reactions of workers: of the 300 eligible employees in the cigarette industry, 71 per cent have opted for less work.

Of these, only one third have wanted to stop work altogether whereas 64 per cent chose to reduce their working time.

Staff members of Elmer Pteroth, one of this country's major wine merchants, have similar options. Under a special deal between Pteroth and the NGG, employees over 60 can reduce their weekly working time by 12.5 per cent initially, and later by 25 per cent, the company making up half of the reduced pay.

They are also free to remain on the job after legal retirement age if they still feel too active to stop working.

This flexible transition into retirement is to replace the guillotine effect that

now forces most workers to retire from one day to the next — something which comes not only as a psychological shock to many but also frequently leads to illness.

But NGG has not only achieved a breakthrough concerning weekly working hours, it has also come up with a novel arrangement in some sectors over annual working times.

A deal a year ago with North Rhine-Westphalia's breweries — it shocked the National Federation of Employers — provides that workers who have been with a company at least 10 years and have turned 60 receive an additional 28 free days a year.

Similar deals have meanwhile been made with other branches of business. They permit older industrial workers to take two six-week vacations a year. Additional days off for shift workers operating under particularly strenuous conditions have been negotiated by the Metalworkers Union and the steel industry.

But such deals are still the exception rather than the rule. This applies even to flexible working hours, although the advantages of this system have been proved time and again.

Of the companies that introduced this system very few have had the courage to extend it beyond the office to the shop floor or to eliminate clock punching.

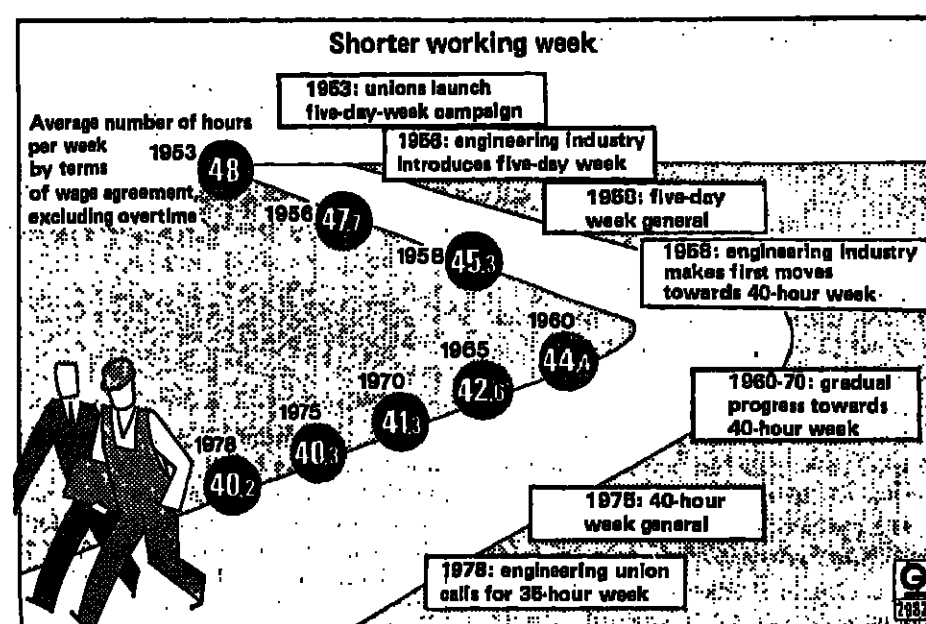
But there, too, there are pioneers who have been willing to experiment. The German subsidiary of the Hewlett Packard Group has since 1967 allowed its staff to decide when they want to start and finish work — both office workers and others.

Even without punching clocks, no-one has abused this freedom.

The idea of flexible working hours which can be introduced anywhere except on an assembly line originated at the German subsidiary of Hewlett Packard and was later adopted by the entire company in the United States and abroad.

Flexible working hours originating in Germany are an exception inasmuch as America is by and large much more imaginative and open to experiment than Germany.

Many branches of US industry have on occasion experimented with a four-day week, and some companies have



tried to introduce three-day weeks with 12 working hours a day.

But many of these experiments had to be abandoned either because the workers opposed them or because it proved uneconomical to keep costly machinery idle for such a long time.

Attention is now focused on an experiment by the General Tyre and Rubber Company in the US which has introduced a short working week, trying to couple this with an optimal use of its plant and machinery.

Two of the company's works now employ a second set of staff working a five instead of a six-day week while the other staff members work only Saturdays and Sundays but for 12 hours a day.

The Saturday-Sunday workers are paid as if they worked a 36-hour week. They also receive the same social security benefits as all other workers, though their vacation is figured on the basis of a 36-hour week.

The system is now to be adopted by all six American factories of the concern because it provides the best possible use of the capital-intensive machinery.

The weekend workers are free to take another job during the week, so one of them helps his father who is a farmer, another has a part-time job in a restaurant and the rest either go to university or look after the children while their wives are at work.

Another rather widespread form of part-time work is the so-called job-sharing system. What this system has in common with the part-time work known in the Federal Republic of Germany is that it does not involve a full working day or a 40-hour working week.

In job-sharing two or more people lease a job, so to speak, sharing the full responsibility for it.

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This system has considerable advantages for the employer because the team is responsible for every aspect of the job and there is no time wasted through illness or vacation.

Moreover, the working time can be adapted to the particular needs of the business since two workers as a team are obviously more flexible than one. And a person working only half time will usually perform better than a full-time worker.

The advantages to the team are even greater. Says Karen Miller, who shares a job as a teller in a New York bank: "If I have a headache or want to take care of some private matter or simply want to take a few days off, I call my team-mate Jane and ask her to take over for me."

"On the other hand, if Jane is ill or wants to visit her parents in New Orleans, I jump into the breach for her. We try to make sure to settle our working time accounts the same month or at the latest the month after."

If they have no special plans, Karen and Jane take turns going to the bank. They prefer to put in a full rather than a half day because too much time is wasted commuting.

Couples like Sue and Kim Powers, on the other hand — he works as a teacher's team-mate and she shares a job as a nurse — prefer to work only half a day so that one of them can always stay with the children.

Their income is the same as that of a couple with one breadwinner. But neither of them has to be only a housewife or a "houseman". Even more important, there is always somebody at home to look after the children.

Job-sharing is common in virtually all walks of life in America, be it engineering, law, secretarial work, bus driving or plumbing.

It has given all these people a great deal of personal freedom and enabled them to look after their families or educate themselves further.

Another possibility of achieving a greater scope of personal freedom, practised primarily in Sweden, is a contract for a specific annual working time.

The individual is then free to decide how to distribute these working hours.

Another system under discussion in Sweden is the so-called "vacation saving". Employees can have part of their annual holiday credited to them and convert it later into days off or a long holiday.

Another form of long holiday has meanwhile become rather widespread in

Continued on page 7

Pilots threaten action over smaller crews in new aircraft

Pilots from seven European airlines are ready to down tools over what they claim are potential reduced safety standards.

Whether the dispute goes ahead depends if the airlines involved decide to take delivery of the new medium-haul Boeing 757 or 767 or the Airbus A 310.

The airlines are Lufthansa, KLM, SAS, Sabena, Air France, Alitalia and Iberia.

The dispute stems from the fact that the new aircraft need two pilots only. The third man, the flight engineer, would, according to the new idea, not be needed. His function would be taken over by electronic instruments and computers.

More than 600 pilots and flight engineers will travel to Frankfurt to demonstrate on 11 December. At a rally at the Canadian Pacific Hotel they plan to state their professional aims in public and also ask the public for understanding for possible strikes during the holiday period.

This unique event is being organised by Europilots, the European branch of the World Air Pilot Association, which has 55,000 members.

The protest is clearly directed against the Airbus A 310 and the American medium range Boeing 757 and 767, now under construction.

Viktor Jaumig, president of the



Cockpit Association and a Lufthansa Airbus pilot says categorically: "Once the flight engineer's job has been rationalised out on these three planes, the safety range in future civil aviation will be reduced to a level which is not acceptable and for which flying personnel can no longer take responsibility."

"A study by the Dutch pilots' association shows that the level of supervision in two-man crews is 90 per cent during the normal flight and but rapidly sinks in abnormal situations to 10 per cent."

"Even if there are 'only slight' irregularities, supervision is the first thing to be neglected, that of the airspace, radio, technology and of other crew members."

"With a three-man cockpit crew supervision in normal situations is 100 per cent and in exceptional situations 50 per cent."

"We are striking for the safety of passengers and for progress in world aviation. And to ensure that no European companies benefit from the strikes which may be necessary, the strikes will hit all airlines, including charter traffic."

The European air industry faces losses of millions if the company bosses cannot reach agreement with the pilots.

A joint meeting between German Lufthansa flying personnel on the one hand and the board and chief pilots on the other last week revealed total disagreement.

Martin Gaebel, chief pilot and director of flights at Lufthansa, called upon his colleagues to give up their resistance to technological progress.

He said in an interview with the *Deutsche Zeitung*: "We will not be reducing safety one millimetre if with this new technology we eliminate or reduce human error which is after all the reason for 80 per cent of all air accidents."

"It has been proved that the Cityjet, the Boeing 737, which flies with only two-man crews in Europe and America, has the fewest accidents per flight hours, even though it starts and lands far more often than planes with three-men crews."

"Airbus Industrie is to design a two-man cockpit for us to test whether a two-man crew can fly this new plane safely, efficiently and without too much stress for the individual crew member."

"If the National Aviation Office gives the go-ahead and if our own research proves favourable for the two-man cockpit concept, then this plane will definitely be flown by two men. Otherwise, the three-man crew will be retained."

"The technological development of Airbus A 310 is going in such a direction that the flight engineer, at least in his role as a highly qualified expert in the cockpit is being made dispensable at least as far as systems supervision and trouble-shooting are concerned."

"If it should nonetheless turn out that a three-man crew is necessary, we will have to reconsider the tasks and qualifications of the third crew member."

Gerhard Frühe, recently elected director and member of the Lufthansa Board, backs DC-10 pilot Gaebel to the hilt: "The board is not going to sacrifice one jot of passenger safety for the sake of the DM50m a year we could save by getting rid of the flight engineer."

"If, despite everything, we cannot find jobs for flight engineers in the new planes there will be no social problems

for this group. I can even envisage them being retrained for higher jobs. We do not want to repeat the example of the stoker on the electric locomotive in Lufthansa because the underemployment syndrome is depressing for all affected."

However Hans Bernhardt, spokesman for the flying members of the Public Service and Transport Union (ÖTV), says: "The aviation section of the ÖTV decided on September 10, 1978 to reject the introduction of two-man cockpits in the Airbus A 310 and similar planes on the basis of the information now available. It wishes the present system of two pilots and one flight engineer to be continued."

Heinz Auth, one of the most influential advisers of ÖTV leader Klüncker, and a former Jumbo jet pilot, rejects the two-man cockpit for two reasons.

Technical and safety reasons

The third man is, so his argument runs, urgently needed on board not only for technical and psychological reasons, but for safety reasons. This is also the opinion of about a thousand Lufthansa pilots.

Sickness and sometimes even death of crew members during flights are becoming increasingly frequent in international aviation, he says.

One thing is clear: the physical and psychological strains on pilots have not become so great that many experts cannot understand why the airlines want to replace the flight engineers by a technology which has not yet been fully tested and which would mean more work and more responsibility for the pilots.

The work load of pilots is constantly increasing because of larger planes, longer hauls, worse flying conditions. The flow and density of data in the cockpit gets more frightening, the technology increasingly sensitive. Pilots cannot simply share this increasing responsibility with a computer.

Dieter Rivalo
(Deutsche Zeitung, 16 November 1978)

Gold supply remains stable despite predictions

Vorwärts

Assuming a gold supply this year of 1,900 tons, it becomes obvious that private demand plays a key role.

In the two previous years, this accounted for 500 tons a year.

It remains to be seen what effect the gold price explosion will have on private investors. Incidentally, the demand for processing purposes is more likely to stagnate than increase.

Speculation and hoarding will dominate this year. The gold price remained unchanged for more than 100 years before, 20 years ago, beginning to soar.

On 18 July 1979 it for the first time passed the barrier of \$300 an ounce. Exactly a year ago gold was still traded at \$185.40. I see no plausible explanation for this development.

True, man has always had a special attitude towards gold, and an international expert, Walter J. Giesler, said in an interesting study on the reasons for the runaway gold price: "If only market forces applied and if we could discount man's mystic attitude towards gold, this would be an uninteresting metal so far as price fluctuations are concerned."

"It is a peculiarity of this commodity that the annual demand is covered by the world-wide supply (banks, commerce, industry and hoarding) estimated at 80 times the annual production... a ratio that does not exist with any other metal."

The South Africans were well advised to keep up their Krugger and production, because in the months to come the gold coin business will boom.

The Americans are still unhappy about the unstable dollar, but they are happy now that, at the end of 1975, their country lifted the ban on the private ownership of gold that had existed since 1934.

Frenchmen can point out with pride that France is the only country always to have kept gold — not hoarded it — in private households.

A journalist wrote recently: "The Bundesbank values its gold (3,600 tons) in its balance sheet at the dollar exchange rate of 10 years ago, showing under 'assets' DM13.7 bn for gold. In

Alex Möller, a former Social Democrat Finance Minister, outlines the background and prospects of today's boom commodity.

Gold production in the non-communist world in 1978/79 was 968 tons, about the same as the previous year.

Figures released by the Bank for International Settlements, based in Basel, Switzerland, show that South Africa, the biggest producer, mined 706.4 tons during the year, compared with 699.9 the year before.

According to reliable estimates, the Soviet mines in Siberia produced about 450 tons.

Despite the higher output in South Africa and several smaller producers in South East Asia, overall figures remained the same because African and North American sources were less productive.

"The supply of gold thus leaves little room for speculation, which is primarily influenced by the shifting of the metal and sales by the IMF and the US Treasury."

The four-year period in which the IMF is to auction off one-third of its gold reserves will be over in about a year, and it is unlikely that there will be a sufficient majority voting for a sale of the remaining reserves.

Speculation at the beginning of the year that the supply of gold would increase sharply proved to be without foundation.

One of the main reasons is that the US Treasury decided to sell only 750,000 ounces a month instead of 1.5 m.

It is likely that Soviet Union earnings equalling those from last year's sales will be achieved with much smaller quantities and that they will therefore not increase the market total unless the USSR wants to obtain more foreign exchange.

The price development of gold is determined by the volume of sales of the producer countries and the monetary authorities plus industrial and private demand.

Estimates of industrial demand for 1978 operate on the assumption that the jewellery industry will need 1,050 tons, electronics 80 tons, dentistry 70 tons and the remainder of industry another 70 tons, making a total of 1,270 tons.

In addition, there are the requirements for coins, medals and decorative purposes, estimated at 250 tons.

Continued from page 5

the United States. More and more companies are coming up with a sabbatical for their executive staff. After seven to 10 years with the company, they can take several months off.

Labour unions and employers in the Federal Republic of Germany have so far shown little interest and understanding for a working time system that would provide the individual with more scope.

CDU politician Norbert Blum has lashed out at the sarcasm with which proposals for the introduction of a sabbatical year and other forms of a more liberal working time system have met, calling it "a testimony to the unimaginativeness of a bigoted society."

Michael Jungblut

(Die Zeit, 16 November 1979)

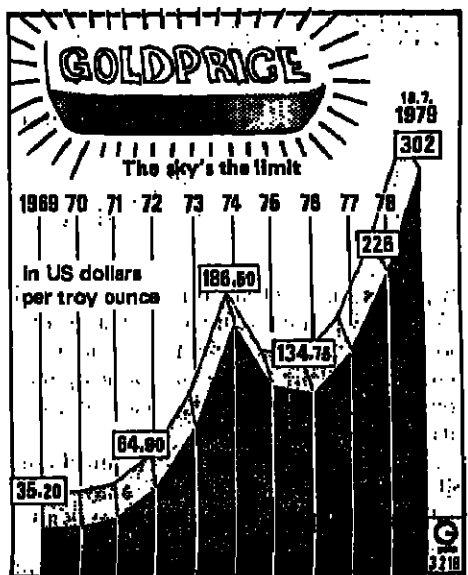
reality, its gold reserves are worth DM80 bn."

Another newspaper expressed satisfaction at the fact that, of the European currency units so far spent under the European Monetary System, 18 bn were based on gold and 11.3 bn on dollars.

Let us hope that the oil sheikhs will prove the really big gold buyers because this would cause them less worry about what to do with their oil earnings.

Some experts recommend stock of selected gold mines as the more interesting proposition for new investments than the direct purchase of the metal because there is now old stock on the market which is valued on a gold price basis of between 200 and 300 dollars.

Gold bears no interest, but it is worth having even without it. Alex Möller
(Vorwärts, 16 November 1979)



Worries over international use of deutschmark



The Bundesbank is worried about the increased use of the deutschmark for international investment.

The latest monthly report of the bank says that there are two alternatives should the trend continue: the currency can be revalued upwards or allowed to appreciate; or the brakes can be applied to halt the inflationary effects of too much money in the system.

This report of the Bundesbank is particularly topical due to the "monetary war" between the United States and Iran that could further weaken the dollar, the most important international investment currency. This in turn would increase the demand for the deutschmark.

According to Bundesbank figures, foreign investments in German money and capital markets between mid-1975 and mid-1979 have doubled and now stand at DM185 bn.

In addition to these direct investments, there are statistically recorded DM150 bn in claims against debtors abroad, in other words, in the Euro-markets, and another DM50 bn in foreign loans.

This makes the deutschmark, after the dollar, not only the second most important international investment currency; but it also has increasingly become the reserve currency of foreign

monetary authorities, where it now represents more than 11 per cent of reserves.

Notwithstanding all efforts, the Federal Republic of Germany has been unable to prevent this development because the United States has failed to do justice to its role as the reserve currency country — a role resulting from its dominant position in world trade after World War II.

The withdrawal of the pound sterling from its role as a reserve currency has also contributed to making the deutschmark a surrogate reserve currency.

But, according to the Bundesbank, no alternative reserve currency can replace the dollar's natural function as the Western world's main reserve currency.

Due to the limited capacity of German money markets the establishment or abolishment of deutschmark reserves — and indeed their mere shifting — must of necessity overtax these markets, warns the Bundesbank.

This would lead to undesirable liquidity and interest rate fluctuations at home, which could not always be compensated for.

As a result, the Bundesbank rejects the recommendation of foreign authorities to yield to the pressure of international markets and no longer oppose the establishment of Deutschmark reserves, accepting instead the deutschmark's role as a reserve currency and viewing this as an obligation.

Another disadvantage of a reserve role for the deutschmark is the exchange rate risk that this country would have to bear by the conversion of dollar investments into deutschmark.

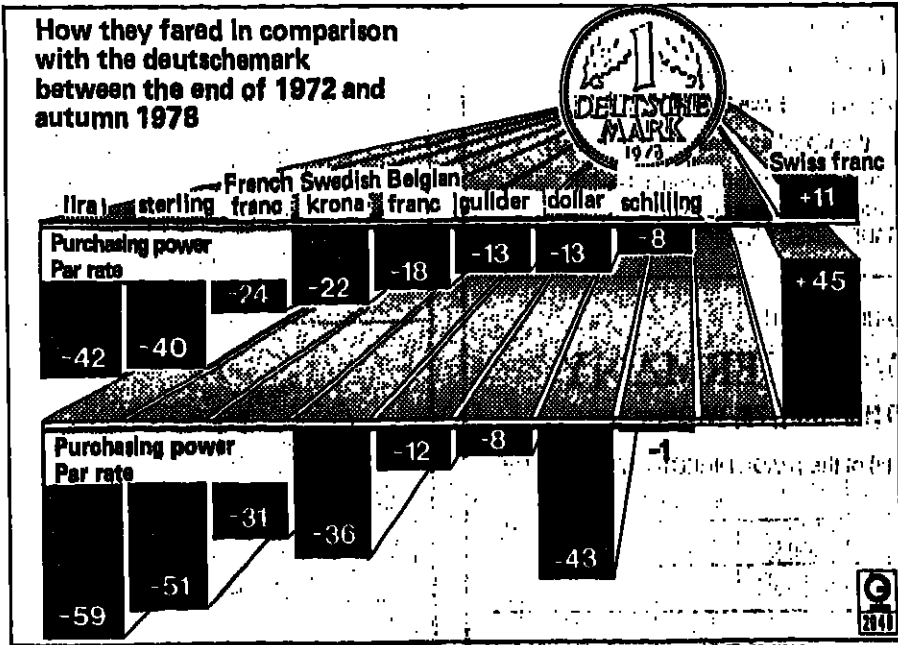
A system of a basket of reserve currencies that would result from unbridled diversification would, according to the Bundesbank, not contribute towards the further development of an international monetary order but would be extremely unstable and thus neither realistic nor tolerable.

Moreover, this would not eliminate the main shortcoming of the present monetary system: excessive liquidity boosts from US sources.

For the moment, there is only one way out: The United States must once more become more credible in its role as the reserve currency country.

Claus Dörtinger

(Die Welt, 19 November 1979)



Rumblings in teaching ranks over working hours

Teachers in West Germany are considering strike action in support of shorter working hours.

But they face difficulties. Most teachers are civil servants, and civil servants are prevented by law from striking.

Neither do the teachers have the support of parents.

And it seems that the politicians are determined not to give way on the issue.

Among the disciplinary measures that can be taken against teachers are fines, wage cuts, entries on the teacher's file and even dismissal.

The flight controllers — also civil servants — who attempted to put pressure on the State by working to rule, were emphatically reminded by the courts of their particular loyalty to the state.

In the argument about teachers' working hours the fronts are hard and immobile. What one side demands is rejected with equal force by the other.

Teachers point out that they have been disadvantaged since 1974, when working time was reduced in the civil and public service from 42 to 40 hours.

However, this did not apply to teachers. One of the inevitable conse-



quences of cutting teachers' hours would have been to employ more teachers, but there was not enough money in the state's coffers, quite apart from the fact that there was still a considerable shortage of teachers at that time.

Since then there has been discontent in the teaching profession, especially since a renowned institute found that teachers in this country work an average of 60 hours a week and thus spend as much time doing their work as a Bundestag MP on his.

Politicians find it difficult to get hold of reliable figures on teachers' working hours. The Land Prime Ministers commissioned a study which was to have produced results by the middle of this year — and they are still waiting.

One can however, assume that teachers have between 21 and 26 teaching hours per week, depending on what Land they work in. That comes the time for preparation of lessons and cor-

rection of tests and homework. Some teachers need more time for this than others.

Last week the Prime Ministers of the Länder met in Celle in Lower Saxony to discuss teachers' working hours and to defuse the situation. They want to reduce excessive teaching loads, especially for vocational school and grammar school teachers, to make concessions to headmasters and to reduce the load of older teachers, perhaps by two hours a week.

However, there will be no across-the-board reduction of teaching hours. Although, unlike in 1974, there are now many unemployed teachers, the finance ministers object to costly new appointments and the education ministers point out that from 1982 onwards there will be a sharp decline in pupil intake.

Teachers will certainly not be satisfied with the measures proposed. But they would be well advised not to go too far. If they start their actions at the expense of the pupils the politicians' efforts to reach a compromise will be made more difficult. Hans Jörg Söldner
(Handelsblatt, 14 November 1979)

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■ NUCLEAR ENERGY

Processing plant runs on quietly as Gorleben uproar continues

Views may clash on the proposed nuclear fuel reprocessing and disposal centre in Gorleben but the existence of a plant which has been operating for the past eight years has gone virtually unnoticed.

Set up in the 60s by the chemical and oil industries, it is tucked away in a well-guarded pine forest north of Karlsruhe.

It is now a 100-per-cent subsidiary of the parent company set up by power utilities to run the Gorleben operation.

It stores and reprocesses fuel rods from seven nuclear reactors and, with its 40-tonne annual capacity, accounts for a nominal 20 per cent of the nuclear fuel used by West German reactors.

In comparison with the proposed capacity at Gorleben the Karlsruhe installation is a 1-in-40 miniature, but unlike Gorleben, which seems a dead letter at present, it is at least working.

Besides, the Karlsruhe plant employs a payroll a quarter of the size envisaged at Gorleben, so on this score it can more readily lay claim to fuller-scale status.

Out of a staff of about 400 roughly 300 do work more or less directly connected with the reprocessing of nuclear fuel.

Managing director Walter Schüller is none too enthusiastic about this ratio. Given the present payroll he feels it



would make more sense to double or treble the Karlsruhe handling capacity.

But it would still not be commercially viable, he adds. To break even, handling capacity would need to be about 10 times the present amount.

At present Germany's sole operational nuclear fuel reprocessing facility is running at a DM140,000-per-day loss.

Herr Schüller's comments were partly intended to dispel rumours that the Karlsruhe plant was to be enlarged to handle 350 tonnes of nuclear fuel a year as a temporary substitute for Gorleben.

This larger facility would then lay the groundwork for an eventual reprocessing and disposal centre four times larger.

Karlsruhe would be a most unsuitable location, he said. The city already had a nuclear research centre and the fumes it emitted ruled out further ventures of the kind.

This view was shared by the parent company. Besides, a 350-tonne facility would cost roughly 2½ times as much to run as the proposed 1,400-tonner, so it could hardly be recommended on economic grounds either.

So there was no ground for fears that Karlsruhe might unexpectedly emerge as

the fuel reprocessing centre of West German nuclear power stations.

Spent fuel rods reprocessed at Karlsruhe included those of the two Karlsruhe research reactors, Kahl, Gundremmingen, Obrigheim and Grosswetzheim power reactors and the reactor of the Otto Hahn, the nuclear freighter now in mothballs.

But they were all smallish reactors with fuel rods not exceeding four metres in length.

New 1,200-megawatt nuclear power stations such as Biblis A and B or Philippsburg 1 have longer fuel rods that cannot be processed at Karlsruhe because its storage basin is not deep enough.

For safety's sake rods have to be covered by at least three metres of water. The Karlsruhe storage basin, designed to hold 35 tonnes of nuclear fuel, is only seven metres deep.

This limits the scope, but several costly construction projects are planned on the closely-guarded Stuttgart site.

Early next year work is to begin on a unit for recycling krypton, an inert gas that is released during reprocessing but in such small quantities that at present it is allowed to billow out of the chimney, albeit subject to safety controls.

A sum equivalent to the entire cost of the reprocessing plant so far, DM250m, is to be spent on an installation to set

highly radioactive waste in molten French fashion.

Work is due to start on this facility in 1982, with completion scheduled 1986.

An air-raid shelter built to with direct hit in an air crash is to be trials. It will function as a storage for highly-radioactive liquid waste.

Herr Schüller is quick to deny suggestions that Karlsruhe, with its experience of handling fuel rods, be envisaged as an intermediate facility for radioactive waste, some of which will be required before long.

Plans were once drawn up to increase storage capacity from 40 to 100 tonnes of nuclear fuel, he admits, but they were scrapped because of the lack of precautions to deal with a possible hit in an air crash.

These safety precautions are all provided.

There had been talk, in the 60s, of the nuclear waste disposal debate, dry storage facility that would acquire anything special by way of structure.

But here too there were no plans, the pipeline at Stuttgart.

Walter Schüller felt the eight-year processing plant had proved its worth. Scientists and technologists in Germany had a head's start on their counterparts elsewhere in observing clean air emissions in the process.

The Stuttgart research project should keep staff busy for another year or so, during which time (if longer) reprocessing of spent fuel from smaller West German reactors should remain assured.

Claus Dauter (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 November 1979)

■ ROAD SAFETY

Seat belts are dangerous, says surgeon No 1...



Making motorists wear seat belts is dangerous, says Wolfgang Herzog, an accident surgeon from Gummersbach, near Cologne.

Professor Herzog set up the country's first mobile emergency medical service at Cologne University Hospital in 1957.

In his view the legal obligation to use safety belts and thereby allegedly reduce the risk of serious consequences to a car crash is "unprincipled fostering of panic."

The 57-year-old surgeon cites in support of his claim an evaluation of 100 accidents of which seat belts were themselves the cause.

"Three of the six accident patients who have died while I was operating on them could still be alive today if they had not been wearing safety belts at the time of the accident," he says.

He argues his case in an article carried by *Medical Tribune*, an English-language journal published in Wiesbaden.

He calls on the Bonn Government,

for instance, to stop shirking the issue and take a clear and impartial stand.

He says the Government is taking shelter behind rulings laid down by courts that are not competent to reach a scientifically-based decision and behind the views endorsed by insurance companies.

"Unless lawmakers soon make a recommendation that can at least be regarded as a reasonable guideline, motorists will continue to be painfully uncertain where they stand."

It was high time a lobby consisting of ADAC, the Munich-based motoring association, and belt manufacturers was called to order.

Professor Herzog is not totally opposed to seat belts, but he does feel they have been a deathtrap in many cases he has investigated.

"In designing the belt the main idea seems to have been to protect the head," he argues, and he readily admits that the number of serious head injuries has declined, especially in head-on collisions.

But time and again belts are the cause of serious internal injuries. Most of these injuries are not immediately apparent.

Accident victims have been known to die of internal bleeding without having as much as a scratch.

... No they're not, and it's dangerous to say so, says surgeon No 2



Professor Herzog claimed in a magazine article that 100 car crash patients he had operated on had been found to have sustained injuries for which the belt was to blame.

In a number of cases these injuries were fatal.

"In campaigning against the safety belt," Professor Danner writes, "Professor Herzog is purveying what in my view is dangerous, one-sided and mistaken information."

He points out that Professor Herzog refers to patients that arrived in his operating theatre after having sustained serious injuries, some of which were no doubt due to their safety belts.

"But Herzog forgets, thoughtlessly in my view, to mention the gravity of the accidents. I can hardly blame a belt as

The professor, who now works at Gummersbach municipal hospital, mentions a case in which safety belts were directly responsible for the death of two people.

With black ice on the road, two cars had collided side-on at 50km/h (30mph). One belted victim died immediately of a haemorrhage.

The other, who did not appear to have suffered much damage, died in the operating theatre after Professor Herzog had spent three hours trying to save his life.

He reckons one person in 16 involved in traffic accidents sustains injuries caused by a safety belt. Fastening that belt has only proved beneficial in 46 per cent of cases.

The decision to belt up or not should, he says, be left to the individual motorist.

Since the belt has certain drawbacks in specific accident situations the law cannot require road-users to protect themselves from head injuries while running the risk of internal injuries.

A West Berlin court has ruled that motorists driving to work who are injured in a car crash and are not wearing their seat belts stand to forfeit accident pay.

Professor Herzog feels this decision is absolutely laughable.

"Judges with a personal affinity to the safety belt are making too great play with their powers," he says.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 November 1979)

Top of league in child deaths, injuries

There is not a country in Europe to rival West Germany for the number of young people killed and maimed on the roads.

Between 1969 and 1978 their number increased by 31 per cent to 132,000 per year, statistics showing that 6- to 7-year-old children are the most frequent pedestrian victims.

They are usually involved in accidents as a result of mistaken behaviour in crossing the road, such as suddenly appearing from behind roadside obstacles to the motorists's vision.

Among cyclists the 12- to 13-year-olds are hardest-hit. The mistakes they make are disregarding right-of-way, wrong cornering and misjudging the attempt to enter the flow of traffic on the move.

Among 10- to 14-year-olds accident figures increased by 40 per cent during the decade under review. Among 15- to 17-year-olds the increase was 85 per cent.

So an all-party group of Bonn MPs have tabled a Bundestag question asking what measures the Federal Government has undertaken to stem the tide.

Transport Minister Kurt Gscheidle said Bonn was particularly keen to separate cyclists from other road-users. Between 1971 and 1976 a further 2,562km of cycletracks had been built alongside Bundesstrassen, or main trunk roads other than autobahns.

A decision had yet to be taken whether or not children of all ages should be allowed to cycle on the pavement. Older children, undeniably potential victims, tended to make the pavement unsafe for elderly pedestrians.

Bonn also plans to reduce the number of accidents involving cyclists by requiring bicycles to be made more readily visible.

A proposed amendment to road traffic regulations would make spoke reflectors and reflecting cycle tyre sidewalls mandatory.

Battery-powered rear lights must also be switched on in the dark — in addition to the dynamo-powered variety that can dim when the cyclist is forced to slow down.

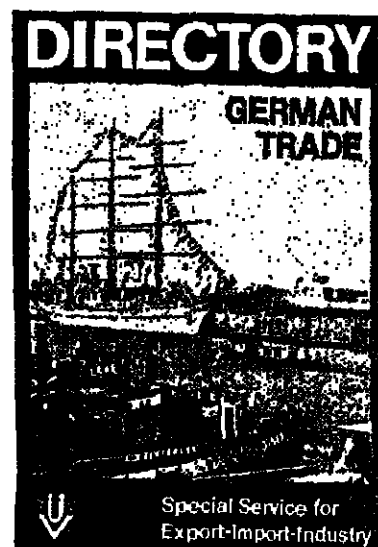
School buses are to undergo yearly roadworthiness tests, with special reference to safer doors. Herr Gscheidle is considering proposals of a special test for school bus drivers.

(Die Welt, 10 November 1979)

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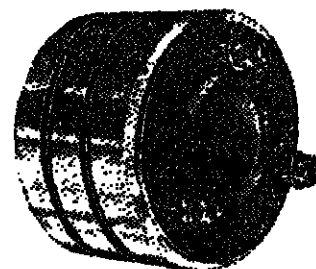
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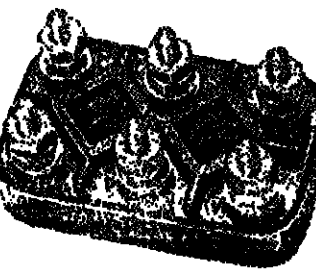
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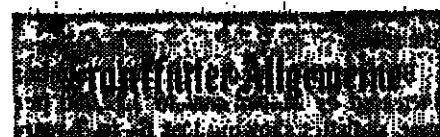
are intended to give listeners abroad a picture of life in Germany. Tape recorded programmes produced by the Radio Transcription Service complement the direct transmissions.

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■ THE CINEMA

Stories of childhood with universal appeal



The Children's Film Festival in Frankfurt this month showed children's films with a difference.

Most of them were not about mice and ducks, kittens and deer, princesses and dragon-slayers or even about adventures in space.

They were about children themselves, their fear, difficulties and dreams, relations with other children and with their parents.

The reality in which children live is taken seriously. Because the way we react to what happens to us in later life is decided when we are children.

And even when we are 50 or 60, our dreams are about the places and experiences of our childhood. Childhood fears and sorrows and joys are constantly being reproduced by our subconscious.

The Scandinavian and the socialist countries have long since realised how important it is that children should be able to recognise themselves in films.

They put large amounts of public money into subsidising children's films. And it was evident from the films in Frankfurt that West Germany is also putting more money into the children's film industry.

Of the 30 films from 12 countries on show in Frankfurt, five were from West Germany. Most came from Scandinavia. Unfortunately, there were no entries from the United States and Canada.

"Martin," by Gloria Behrens, a West German entry, tells the story of a 12-year-old who has had to live in a home since his parents' divorce and his mother's death.

This Bavarian children's home is, for a change, not depicted as a place of isolation and repression. Here Martin, with the help of a motherly social worker, manages to get rid of the resentments towards his father, whom he blames for the death of his beloved mother.

This difficult process is shown taking place between children who speak with a Bavarian dialect.

Martin is gradually reconciled to his father, a thick-skinned lorry driver who cares for him deep down. Martin, like all the psychological and realistic films shown here, has a happy ending, convincing, but not forced.

The Swedes are the masters of modern realistic films for children. "Elvis, Elvis," by Kay Pollack, is about a seven-year-old boy who is neglected by his mother because she thinks only of Elvis Presley.

Seeing an Elvis performance in Miami on her coloured TV is a high point in her life. And when Elvis sings one of his early hits, she simply melts away.

She has named her son after her idol but she cannot love her son. The son has withdrawn into himself and his own dream world because of his mother's dramatic changes of feeling.

Little Elvis seeks consolation with his grandparents and with children and adults who are a little bit crazy, like himself.

And he begins to get on better with his mother, whom he had previously hated and wanted dead — perhaps be-

cause he senses instinctively that his mother's changeability is due to his good-natured father's lack of sensitivity.

The problems of the little ersatz Elvis are presented so that children can easily understand them.

The Swedish film "Master Thief" — for children aged 11 and over — is more difficult. Two fatherless boys who live in a drab block of flats with their embittered mother seek adventure through petty theft.

Peter steals all the pocket calculators in his class and sells them on the street; he and his brother borrow a car; he takes a sausage from the food section of a department store.

We soon realise that 13-year-old Peter's gradually dying sense of what is his and what isn't is due to lack of love and to boredom. The boy's descent down the road to crime ends, as we might expect, in a police car.

It is a film where one has to explain things to children but which goes a good way towards explaining the complicated logic of psychological processes.

The films from the East Bloc countries try to make children more relaxed in the way they treat one another. In her film, "The Last Bench", Marta Kende, of Hungary, pleads for racial tolerance.

Gipsy girl Kati not only has to go to school and do her homework, she also has to take her mother's place, cook, clean and do the shopping. The other children in the school consider her dirty and different.

A teacher helps in the process of the child's integration. Kati proves to be a talented little singer and dancer.

The Bulgarian film "Talisman," by Rashko Ouzonov, tells of how 12-year-old schoolgirl Iskra, who has a strong sense of truth and fairness, gets into a conflict. She takes up the struggle against a teacher who protects her son, who behaves in an unconscionable way in the class.

Iskra learns a lesson

Iskra is deserted by the rest of the class, who previously shared her views. They do this out of opportunism. No one dares say anything against the teacher. Iskra has to learn that it is no use beating one's head against a brick wall.

The British present their film in the form of thrillers — and so they can be sure of having the children on their side. Richard Corliss gets 12-year-olds to act in the story of "Robin Hood," the robber who stole from the rich to give to the poor.

This turns out to be a good idea. The boys are imaginative enough to change effortlessly into wild horsemen and swingers of lasses, throwing tomatoes and eggs at wicked men of all kind. They use the drawbridge to enter the castle of the wicked uncle who is keeping young Mary prisoner and roll barrels together to trap and immobilise the heavily armed guards.

Like fleet-footed partisans or the

Continued on page 11



Gerhard Gundel as Martin in "The Last Days of Childhood."

(Photo: Filmverlag der Autoren)

Unadorned analysis of a youthful suicide

The more you admit, the better it will be for you," a policeman behind a desk explains to young Martin Sonntag, who is accused of a number of break-ins.

The representative of state order in Norbert Kückelmann's new film, "The Last Days of Childhood," gets his way. Martin, not yet 14, and therefore too young to be taken to court, makes a full confession.

For Martin, being sent to a borstal does not mean the beginning of a process of reintegration but long and painful suffering in many borstals, from which he constantly tries to escape.

He gets on well with a social worker in one borstal, but this relationship does not last long. The guardians of order seem to have been waiting till he reaches the age when he can answer for his offences in court.

Soon after his 14th birthday, Martin commits suicide in a prison. One can always run away, he tried to explain to a girl.

The starting point for Kückelmann was an authentic case. His film is the analysis of a suicide — and thus of a system, which must bear some of the guilt for this suicide.

Unlike many comparable, equally well-intentioned films, this one largely avoids rhetoric and relies on scenes, images, atmospheres and movement.

Kückelmann effortlessly reveals the futile order of the borstals, which serves no purpose but its own. The coldness of these institutions is what makes the boy constantly run away; escaping is his only means of communication.

The first scenes of the film show soulless apartment blocks in the background and in the foreground, building sites and rubbish tips. This is where, Martin, his brother and his friends live and play.

In a building site hut they have made themselves a cubby-hole; here a boy is looking for freedom and also security and warmth. The hiding place is not so much for the largely useless bits and pieces they have stolen, consumer goods from here or there. For Martin the place is more of a refuge.



Continued from page 10

Many people said that Karl Kraus's "The Last Days of Mankind" which many scenes of "I and I" resemble in their satirical structure — could not be performed — until Hans Hollmann's magnificent Basle production put an end to this prejudice.

Lasker-Schüler's apocalyptic "theatrical tragedy" with its many connections with

dream-warriors of Chinese films they fight and win.

Their laughter and cunning constantly triumph over the obtuseness of adults.

The same story in "The Poisoned Lake" by the same English director. Two boys find that the fish in a pond out in the country are dying. Their cat, fed with fish, dies also. And so the boys enter the prohibited zone of a poisonous waste dump.

Using cameras and walkie-talkies, they chase away a bunch of gangsters who use sinister lorries to transport chemicals and thus pollute their pond.

The police help the two amateur detectives who are afraid of no poisonous fumes, no slime and no crevasses.

All the films mentioned here have already found distributors. Children themselves will have to decide whether these thought-provoking films about their own lives interest them or not — after the expensive American space films which distract them from their own everyday reality.

Brigitte Jaramias

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Nr. Deutschland, 6 November 1979)

■ THE THEATRE

Question mark over the future of 1941 play



The premiere of Else Lasker-Schüler's dramatic poem "Ich und Ich" ("I and I") has been staged in the Düsseldorf Schauspielhaus. The question now is whether further performances will be allowed. It is up to Manfred Sturmann, the trustee of the estate of Lasker-Schüler, whether "I and I" is to be released for general performance.

Much depends on the reaction to the Düsseldorf production. It is hoped that the response will persuade Herr Sturmann to give the go-ahead.

Rarely has a premiere been awaited with such expectation and hope.

The production, directed by Michael Gruner, was fashioned from the only copy of "I and I", an impulsive manuscript, illegible in many parts because of heavy correcting.

The draft was produced in 1941 and eventually published in the Yearbook of the German Schiller Society in 1970.

Originally, it was planned that Wuppertal, the writer's home town, should hold the premiere. But it was decided to present the Wuppertal version — a separate production — later.

The draft of "I and I" shows what a remarkable work we would have had if Else Lasker-Schüler had had the opportunity to correct and tighten it up before her death. Hans Rudolf Hilty has described the work as a "mysterious jewel."

Associations and allusions of often grotesque comedy abound (Auerbach's cellar, Marthe's garden with the cynical, Tete-à-tete between Goebbels and Marthe Schwerdtlein) and overwhelm the spectator like a cataract.

Continued from page 10

Verlag a year ago). A Polish dramatisation of the book was produced by Zygmunt Hübner.

The Warsaw production of this play by Andrzej Wajdas has been constantly sold out since 1978. The Polish play is tailor-made to the Polish situation and so theatre publishers S. Fischer asked German author Dieter Kühn ("Wolenski") to produce a German stage version.

The story could have been made into the play of the century; but Kühn's document consisting of selected dialogues and sticking closely to the text hardly provides any new information and contributes little to the characterisation of the main protagonists.

A transposition of the available material to make a theatre play — as Hochhuth, at least in part, succeeded in doing in "The Representative" — would have been more appropriate.

However in terms of the mastering of the past one can only wish that this dialogue play is seen by many.

In his book, Moczarski gives a panorama of the Hitler era in order to describe Stroop's development as precisely as possible. The career of a little clerk in the Land Register office of the former Princesdom of Lippe-Deimold, who

Dante's "Divine Comedy" and Goethe's "Faust" (this satirical-philosophical stage spectacle could almost be described as her "Faust III") is not only a reckoning with Nazi Germany but the prophetic invocation of its downfall.

It is the descent into hell of the Nazis, a Hell Play in which their split identity ("two souls dwell, at last, in my breast") is related to individual figures of the action (Faust/Mephisto).

Lasker-Schüler melts the real and the unreal to bring about the triumph of God in Last Judgement over Satan, embodied by Goebbels and Hitler; but Faust and Mephisto are reconciled.

It is only possible to give a vague impression here of the dialogues which are poetically illuminated with "olden flashes" and parodied Goethe quotations.

Lasker-Schüler produces a fantastic "play within a play." On the proscenium of a Jerusalem state the author, her friend, the director Max Reinhardt, actor friends and audience gather.

East and West, past and present, the German middle ages and the barbarism of the Hitler era combine chemically and scenically in an apocalyptic witches' sabbath in which the Syrian god Baal, King David, Faust figures, Marthe Schwerdtlein, the devil of devils Goebbels, Hess and von Schirach, are all invited to a banquet in Mephisto's palace in hell.

Heinrich Ortmayr plays the Faust with an almost frenetic intensity. His "I bow down before him" is unforgettable.

Diethilde Hillebrecht, as the poetess fascinates with the accuracy with which she portrays Lasker-Schüler's charismatic radiance, her exuberant imagination, her impulsive sense of comedy and capacity

Mephisto's Nazi guests sink shrieking in the mud of Orcus, crying out "Adolf, Adolf, why hast thou forsaken me?" At this point Hitler makes a determined entrance, meaning to annex hell to the Great German Reich. But he finds hell empty. In a long, silent procession devils and she-devils flee from the Nazis into the cloudy higher regions. This vision of a refugee trek in the shimmering reflections of transparent spaces is a contrast to the "Circus" underworld and also suggests graphically the ambivalence of the drama and the production by Gruner and his stage set designer, Uwe Oelkers. A high point of the performance: the decisive game on the giant chessboard with a white Christ and black devil figures, in which Mephisto, brilliantly played by Rüdiger Hacker, accuses his opponent Faust, the scientist, of guilt in his pact with Hitler.

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Diethilde Hillebrecht, as the poetess fascinates with the accuracy with which she portrays Lasker-Schüler's charismatic radiance, her exuberant imagination, her impulsive sense of comedy and capacity

for compassion. However the after-piece is far too long and needs tightening up.

The well-read among the in part over-taxed audience applauded generously at the end of this play which, unfinished though it is, is full of flashes and colour.

It was all well worth the trouble. The ordeal of fire is over. Let us hope this play will now be made generally available.

Gerd Vielhaber

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 November 1979)

Odd cellmates in post-war Polish prison

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In his book, Moczarski gives a panorama of the Hitler era in order to describe Stroop's development as precisely as possible. The career of a little clerk in the Land Register office of the former Princesdom of Lippe-Deimold, who

rose to be an SS Gruppenführer, Police Lieutenant-General and mass-murderer is like an open book before us.

Dieter Kühn can only show the cell in which the conversations took place.

Stroop distorts the facts, sometimes intentionally, sometimes because of the distance in time. However, the theatre-goer also analyses this confession from the viewpoint of Stroop's co-prisoner Moczarski, who seldom allows himself to be provoked by Stroop's words.

The situation is made somewhat eerie by the presence of a third, somewhat taciturn prisoner: Gustaf Schilde, a former social democrat, is a "small" war criminal, who dissociates himself from Stroop and clearly sympathises with Moczarski.

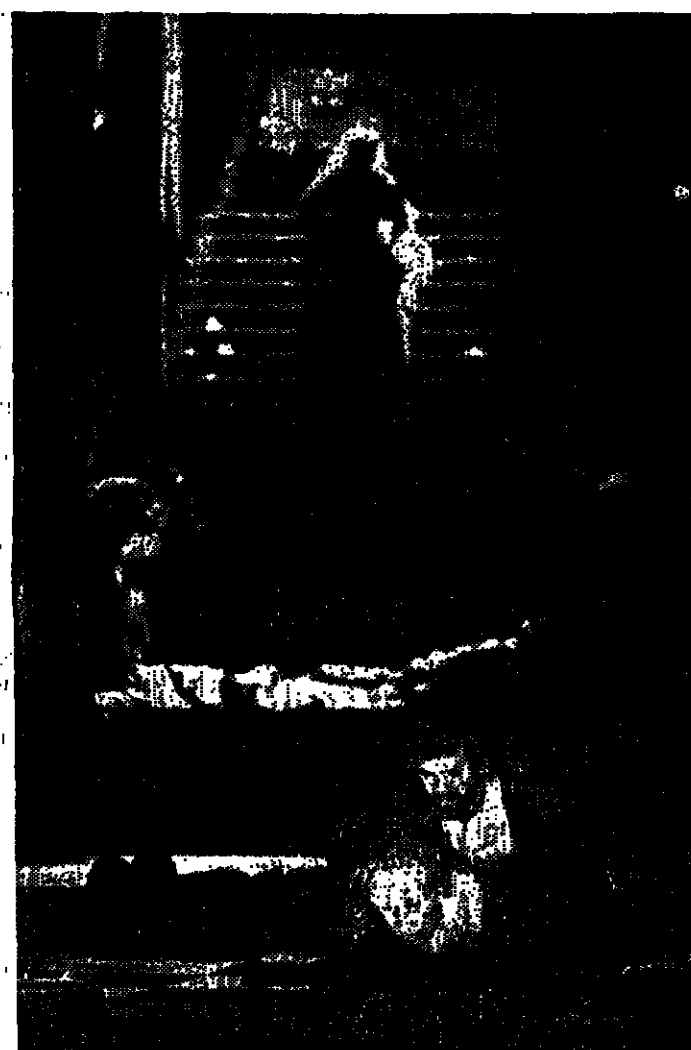
As a result, the reckoning with the past acquires a deeper dimension.

The audience sits around the prison cell, designed by Mechthild Schwenhorst, — as if it was in the dock. The production is directed by Michael Degen, whose personal commitment to the subject is evident.

His accentuation of Stroop's wordy reminiscences manages to transform the whole into a drama after all. Wolfgang Arps, in the role of the executioner, succeeds brilliantly in avoiding a black and white image and presenting an "ordinary German", typical of our Nazi past: glibly because he carries out orders, the scope of which he does not fully understand.

Wolf-Dietrich Garg is the ideal actor to portray the position of the Polish democrat, Moczarski. Wilhelm Unger

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 8 November 1979)



A scene from "I and I"

(Photo: Lore Bernbach)

The issue of comprehensive schooling tends to separate parents into sharply divided camps. And not only in Germany.

Comprehensives are based on the same model whether they are in Britain or Denmark, and the same arguments for and against are being argued just as passionately in those countries.

But comprehensive schools are not identical, of course. A Hamburg comprehensive is not the same as one in Hesse; the Lower Saxony model varies from its Bavarian equivalent.

It is these differences that cause confusion among the many parents who are not clear of the issues involved.

In the comprehensive school idea there is a strange combination of educational good sense and ideological idiosyncrasy.

The first educational advantage is: comprehensives don't limit the later professional options of children at the age of 10.

As things are now, acceptance or rejection for grammar school is a decision which affects career prospects many years later.

The second advantage: all talents and capacities considered useful to the individual or to society are encouraged, regardless of whether a pupil is talented or not so able.

For example, grammar schools for a long time rated Greek and Latin more highly than physics and chemistry.

That doesn't apply any more.

The third educational argument in favour is that we don't want the struggle for existence to begin already at school. This involves the pressure of marks, the pressure of making the next class make happy children into unhappy little forced labourers.

Here the reformers were out of luck. While they were dreaming of schools free of fear and thought their dreams were plans, the universities had to protect themselves against crippling overcrowding and introduced the numerus clausus system whereby in certain subjects only the pupils with the highest marks have a chance of admission.

This created pressure to achieve high marks and competitiveness in the schools the like of which had never before been seen.

Now the first point of ideological idiosyncrasy: Society must be changed and the schools are an instrument for changing society. When two abstractions — society and change — are brought into conjunction with a moral appeal (must), schools find themselves facing a problem with which they are totally unable to cope.

Schools have never brought about the desired society, it was always societies

■ EDUCATION

Opinions sharply divided on comprehensive schools

(states, churches, parties) which produced the schools they wanted.

Ideological idiosyncrasy, point 2: where 50 per cent of the population are workers, then 50 per cent working class children must be found in the best schools and the fairest way of doing this is to do away with the "best" schools.

However, there are good reasons for wishing that ministers, generals and doctors should be taught at the best schools.

Ideological idiosyncrasy, point 3: the vertical school system — secondary modern school, technical school and grammar school, is anti-social and should be replaced by a horizontal system: primary grade, secondary grade 1, secondary grade 2.

This means making bad worse: to ensure that richer and poorer children are taught together, younger and older children are torn apart.

Of course it is true that what may seem ideological idiosyncrasy to a liberal may be exactly right and desirable in the eyes of a consistent socialist. However, he must not be surprised if in *Länder* where consistent socialists are in the minority, other school systems predominate.

Politicians concerned with education have for some time talked of (red) A-Länder and (black) B-Länder. Another iron curtain through the German school scene.

This would have unwelcome consequences. It would make mobility for example even more difficult.

The idea that all schools should be the same is a strange dream and to many more like a nightmare. There are at the moment several different ways of arriving at the same educational goals: elementary leaving certificate, ordinary level, advanced level. As long as these certificates are documents of entitlement for instance to a civil service career or to admission to a university, then achievements should be comparable for the sake of fairness.

The idea of an election campaign in which one side insists on the comprehensive and the other on the grammar school system is appalling. There is bound to be even more generalisation than in such a short account as this. And there, unlike here, the generalisations will be tendentious.

On the one hand we will hear of the terrible stress in the grammar schools as if it were an essential element of these schools and, on the other hand, of experiments at our children's expense, as if the comprehensive school, tried and tested for over 30 years in Scandinavia, the USA and Great Britain and for 10 years here, had not long since proved its worth.

Academics in North Rhine-Westphalia recently published a study which merely confirmed the experience of other countries: comprehensive schools are better for late developers, the practically gifted, the less theoretically gifted. Intellectual high-fliers do better at grammar schools.

Now most people are not high fliers. It must therefore be surprising that the SPD, in the *Länder* where it rules, has so frightened the voters — first in Hesse, then in North Rhine-Westphalia, then in Hamburg — that North Rhine-Westphalia Prime Minister Johannes Rau, the best informed of all the *Länder* Prime Ministers on this subject, is careful not to do anything for comprehensive schools before the election.

The SPD's failure to persuade large sections of the population of the benefits of the comprehensive school is not only the result of awkwardness.

From the secondary modern school perspective, the comprehensive school is an excellent thing, but far less so from the grammar school perspective.

Social democratic politicians also realise this but they are reluctant to opt for secondary modern schools. Otherwise they could argue along these lines: for four years all children are together — so why shouldn't they stay together in the fifth, the eighth or the 13th school year? We want the real people's school which leads to every profession!

No one could accuse Hamburg Education Senator Grolle of wicked intentions. But this unfortunate individual wants to install a comprehensive school on the site of a grammar school, of all places (and immediately there are those who say: "We knew all along, the socialists want to destroy the grammar school!")

To avoid complicated legal disputes, he declared the comprehensive school a "regular school form" (instead of "a school like any other.") One lawyer took

this to mean that from now on a comprehensive school would be the rule and the secondary modern, technical or grammar school the exception.

And how are people without degrees in law to understand it better. But we seriously encourage them to understand it differently. There are some educationists who mean precisely this in the long term the comprehensive school will be the rule and in exceptional cases we will tolerate grammar schools. If this is not the dominant in the party, it is high time this was said, loud and clear.

In our opinion, even with pupils falling, comprehensives, second moderns, technical schools, grammar schools, special schools, vocational schools and private schools should exist alongside one another and compete with one another.

This problem can be solved in the cities. In the country it is difficult not insoluble, given good will: a problem of logistics, as the strategic separation of distance between school and home, school lunches, of what can reasonably be expected of pupils and teachers.

It sometimes seems that the *BRD*, which bears the word liberal in its name — and without liberalism is school of any kind can flourish — is the most reasonable educational policy.

Verbally this is certainly true. I avoid using the word comprehensive school wherever possible and promise us the "open" school. If it would not be us precisely what this open school and where it differs from the "social comprehensive school" we would be step further.

An election campaign in which the choice between grammar and comprehensive schools were a central issue would, with its necessarily simplified slogans, distort all the essential points.

Comprehensives can be excellent: grammar schools can be dreadful. A civilised society will always need schools for the exceptionally gifted and it completely irrelevant what these schools are called.

The quality of a school does not depend on its name nor on its educational form.

The following factors decide quality: 1. How good the teachers are. 2. The curriculum. 3. The materials available. 4. Size of classes.

We favour — and in this we agree with most ministers of education — comprehensive school that does not wish to kill off the grammar school as a grammar school which is in no way arrogant towards the comprehensive.

Rudolf Walter Leonhardt
(Die Zeit, 9 November 1979)

■ OUR WORLD

Biology expert's bid for university place fails

When Günther Zupanc was 15 years old (he is now 21) he wrote a research paper on "The behaviour of Fish of the Cichlidae Family."

It was well-enough researched to win the southern Bavaria prize and was ultimately the second-placed entry for the whole of Bavaria.

He has written other authoritative pieces on a variety of biological subjects including the mottled perch fish and has won a prize in a European competition for research and invention.

Not terribly remarkable? Perhaps not, except that Herr Zupanc is barred from studying biology at university because his marks are not good enough.

Biology is one of those subjects that comes under the so-called *numerus clausus* (which restricts admission for secondary school graduates with graduation marks below a specific average).

Herr Zupanc graduated with an average of 3.2, which bars him from studying biology at university.

In an effort to reverse this decision, he applied to the Centre for the Assignment of University Places (ZVS) on the grounds of exceptional hardship.

His application was turned down with the computerised statement: "You have failed to prove that you would have achieved a better average if the reason given by you had not existed."

The reason he gave was that he had been continuously engaged in behavioural research for the past six years.

Herr Zupanc substantiated this claim with a 150-page study, saying that this accounted for the two "fours" he had in Latin and Greek, and that it was these subjects that brought his average down.

At the age of 15 he participated in a scientific contest dubbed "Secondary School Students Experiment".



Günther Zupanc
(Photo: Fred Schöllhorn)

Not only was he the best Bavarian participant, but he also progressed to the competition "Youth Researches", normally open only to older students, where he became the regional winner for southern Bavaria and later runner-up for the entire state.

His subject was "The Behaviour of Fish of the Cichlidae Family".

This type of fish remained the subject of further studies. The first essay was followed by a comparative analysis entitled "Cichlasoma nigrofasciatum — An Ethological and Comparative Study of Other Cichlidae". This again earned him a position among Bavaria's best in "Youth Researches".

Later, Herr Zupanc wrote a popular report on the mottled perch and its aggression patterns, which he submitted to

the journalistic contest "Reporters of Science" in 1976.

In the same year, he took part in the "Philips European Contest for Young Researchers and Inventors" in which he was awarded the second prize.

And in 1977 he was the best German in the Philips competition, receiving a prize of 5,000 francs.

The "special hardships" he mentioned in his application also included participation in scientific congresses.

Günther Zupanc has been awarded 14 national and international prizes — the last one for a film on "Life in a Coral Reef" which he made together with a friend.

The principal of his school confirmed all this. Father Johannes Lettner of the Humanistic St. Stephens Gymnasium in Augsburg told ZVS in a letter that Herr Zupanc was "deeply involved in behavioural research and that this evidently affected his performance in the language subjects."

But even this failed to make ZVS reverse its decision. The organisation is not concerned with circumstances but with regulations. And these state that the national winner of "Youth Researches" may be admitted to university even if his marks are below the required average, but this does not apply to the runner-up — and hence to Herr Zupanc.

As to the Philips contest, where he was the winner, this is not included in the ZVS guidelines.

The principal's letter cannot be taken into account because the ZVS recognises only psychological and not educational criteria in dealing with "special hardships".

Social Democrat MPs in Bonn pilloried the ZVS decision as a "scandal" and an example of "bureaucratic bungling". But their effort to help came too late because the file was already closed.

Meanwhile, the chairman of ZVS, Hartmut Jaekel, has announced that he intends to introduce a "genius clause" to prevent Germany's meagre university research from losing more people like Günther Zupanc.

Michael Schwellen
(Die Zeit, 9 November 1979)



Jörg Andreas Elten

Opting out — with a little luxury

Jörg Andreas Elten, star reporter of the illustrated magazine *Stern*, ranked among the top earners in his field before he found his guru in India and was converted to a philosophy of love-thy-neighbour and self-denial.

Today, the man who joined the Bhagwan's group is back in Hamburg. He has come to take leave of his home city before going to India for good to serve the love guru in his temple.

Herr Elten (now Swami Satiananda) takes a daily walk along the shores of the Alster River, only a few yards from the home of friends with whom he is staying, surrounded by the luxury of the old days.

Asked if he did not think it was a pity to leave all this, Herr Elten says: "Bhagwan asked me to do it."

Born in 1927, Herr Elten attended a Nazi elite school. He was a soldier during the war. On returning home, he began his journalistic career.

Together with a couple of friends, he founded the magazine *Ruf* in 1947 — in those days the most disrespectful publication of occupied Germany.

In 1956 he became the Middle East reporter of *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and in 1964 he joined *Stern*.

He was divorced in 1971, two years before the oil crisis. This shook him up and he realised that things could not continue as they were.

Man's consciousness must be changed, he said to himself. Five years later, he met the guru and felt that he had arrived.

Herr Elten has written a book on opting out of our society ("Totally Relaxed Here and Now") for which he is drumming up sales — a bit over-zealously perhaps.

Asked why he so eagerly promotes his book, since worldly possessions mean nothing to him anymore, Herr Elten strokes his long beard and adjusts his legs in the lotus position.

And although the question is not new to him, the answer is long in coming. Flanked by two young girls, members of Hamburg's Bhagwan community, he waits until one of them rises lithely to serve a gin and tonic, accompanied by the rich sound of an expensive hi-fi set, before finally answering:

"My book is to make people a bit more contented... to bring a bit more laughter and darning, a bit more love."

Joachim Lottmann
(Die Welt, 13 November 1979)

When Carl reaches for his water bottle, no sticker is safe

for Hamburg History. They will shortly be sent on a tour of the country.

Apo (extra-parliamentary opposition), the student movement of the sixties, used hand-made stickers in promoting its cause and rallying support for demonstrations against America's involvement in Vietnam or the emergency laws passed by Bonn. It was a cheap way of spreading their ideas and, above all, it was independent of the established media.

In the years to come, popular topics were the socialist slogans in connection with the 1 May Labour Day, protests against the Vietnam War, against dictatorship in Greece and the Shah of Iran. Today's stickers protest against military dictatorship in Latin America.

During the 1972 parliamentary election campaign, our political parties still used stickers rather hesitantly.

Typical examples were: "Follow the Prices: Run Away from the SPD" or just a plain: "I'm for Willy".

Then came the tide of stickers in the wake of the so-called RAF (Red Army Faction), such as "Against Isolation Torture", "Against Career Bana", and "Against the New Abortion Laws".



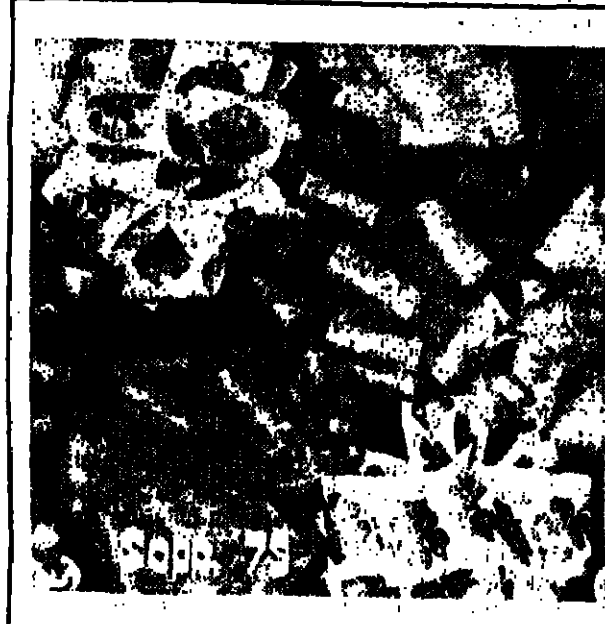
Carl Wendorf
(Photo: Wolfgang Steche)

This was followed by the ecology wave with slogans, like "No Vacation Where Birds Are Being Killed". The first anti-nuke stickers came towards the end of 1974.

In the 1976 election campaign the

Continued on page 14

Jörg Andreas Elten



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WOMEN

Politicians (male) given a tough time at meeting

About 500 delegates to a meeting of the German Council of Women in Mainz showed no mercy towards male politicians who came to answer questions.

At one stage the Free Democrats Secretary General, Günther Verheugen, was asked whether he would be prepared to do his own housekeeping (he promptly answered that he would.)

Then a woman teacher told Social Democrat Egon Bahr that he was "always trying to harness us for one cause or another. But we refuse to have this done to us."

However, when the Christian Democratic Union's Helner Geissler said that



Dr Hedda Heuser

(Photo: Sven Simon) he thought very little of what the individual parties had done for women, and their representation in Parliament and other bodies, he was rewarded with wild applause.

The council claims a membership of more than 10m.

Herr Bahr warned of a debate on population policy aimed at re-assigning to the woman her old role as housewife.

Then Herr Verheugen said that he could well imagine his position in the party being held by Ingrid Mattäus or Helga Schuchardt.

The politicians had a tough time finding convincing answers to the questions, but they were agreed on one point: equality as stipulated in the Constitution has not been achieved and there is no sign of true emancipation, of freedom and independence.

Though women are increasingly occupying positions of power in politics, the chairman of the Council, Irmgard von Malbom, stressed that they accounted for only 7.7 per cent of our MPs. This proved that they had not yet been particularly successful in their march into politics.

Even worse, she said, was the fact that more than one third of German husbands were dissatisfied with their wives' political involvement.

Dr Hedda Heuser, chairman of the Society of German Women Doctors, caused a stir when, in her address on the "Position and Responsibility of Women in a Changing Society," she said: "Granted, there are biological differences between men and women, but that is all."

She sharply attacked what she called "the woman's second-hand life," speaking of "shirking responsibility, selfish

partnership, narcissistic individualism — all of which hit us women above all."

"And before women once more undertake to bear this burden alone we lay claim to an equal distribution of burdens and wages from the very beginning."

Herr Verheugen was the most outspoken politician. He advocated an Equality Act, comparing the woman in politics with a sleeping giant who should be awakened gently.

When one of the women asked him whether he would be prepared to do his own housekeeping, he promptly answered: "Yes."

Herr Geissler considers all present attempts at improving the position of the woman as patchwork until "a radical re-thinking process sets in and until society is adapted to the needs of women. Only then will their justified demands become fulfillable."

He went on to say that he thought very little of what the individual parties have done for women and their representation in parliament and other bodies.

This was greeted with enthusiastic applause.

Herr Bahr went so far as to combine women's interests with an appeal for peace and arms limitation which, he said, would automatically bring more security for women. He therefore called on his female audience to speak up to that effect.

"Herr Bahr," said a woman teacher, "you are always trying to harness us for one cause or another. But we refuse to have this done to us."

She wanted to know more about what was being done to secure women's jobs.

The lively discussion reverted time and again to the inequality between men and women.

A Mainz woman shouted into the microphone (alluding to *Weiberfastnacht*, a highlight of the carnival season when women take over everything and cut off men's ties): "Unless things change, you men stand to lose more than just your ties at the next *Weiberfastnacht*!"

W. Körber
(Die Welt, 10 November 1979)

Continued from page 13

stickers became more sophisticated. They were printed in colour and used on a grand scale.

Eventually the little discs became socially acceptable by all and were used by all political parties.

The young members' branch of the CDU came up with a round sticker showing a girl with a pouting mouth and green boxing gloves held in front of her naked breasts and bearing the inscription "The Left Stinks".

This marked the transition from street communication to big business, from wall to automobile.

Today, everybody resorts to sticker campaigning, from health insurance to detergent manufacturers, from gay groups to citizens' initiatives.

Carl Wendorf is undaunted by the enormity of the tide confronting him. His forecast for next year is that Shadow Chancellor Franz Josef Strauss will take the cake on the sticker front.

Charlotte Kerner
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 November 1979)



Ready for factory floor

Women being trained for what were once careers only for men: this centre, Stuttgart, run by the International League for Social Service in conjunction with the International Federation must allow 50 labour exchange, runs 30-week industrial courses, six hours a day. There is no charge for fares and equipment are paid for and a monthly grant made. (Photo: Kurt Engel)

Old attitudes linger over girl apprentices

Girls training for male trades are frequently better than boys though they tend to be over zealous.

They are aware of their pioneer role but suffer from the fact that they are being stared at like some exotic creatures in a zoo.

Traditional attitudes and reservations linger.

Many educational and labour market measures are now attempting to expand career opportunities for women to traditional male domains.

Bonn and the Länder are promoting pilot projects to open up careers hitherto closed to girls. Ten of these projects started last year and 12 began late this summer.

The Veba Oil Company in Gelsenkirchen is now training 15 girls as metalworkers and electricians; 120 had applied.

The Continental Rubber Works in Hanover has a pilot project for 28 young women again far fewer than the 70 who applied. They are to be trained as chemical workers, turners, lathe operators, mechanics and the like.

It is still too early for a final assessment of the projects, but a preliminary study by Dr Barbara Hegelheimer of Berlin, says:

Problems are not so much due to the actual course of training women in male trades but to handed-down attitudes concerning the social roles of the sexes. Considerable barriers erected by the girls themselves and their parents have had to be overcome before the girls could be persuaded to opt for such trades. But these reservations have diminished in the course of training.

Dr Hegelheimer found that the girls are exceptionally motivated. They are aware of their pioneer function, and where motivation problems have been in evidence at all they have been due to fears of being unable to find a job after training.

By and large, there are no training problems. Job related, physical and psychological problems have not arisen, says the report.

The performance of the girls equals that of their male counterparts. In fact, their assessment by their teachers is generally more positive than that of young men.

Several problems in the initial days were due to lack of general technical knowledge and have since been overcome. "But they do show that the 25 degrees below zero centigrade, so athletes need more intensive instruction in winter sports." It said.

Problems with fellow workers after will be wearing a fair assortment of other social difficulties arising from the training of girls in male trades but nothing to do with the specific trade.

Hand-up collar, special warm knee-length socks, a wide, woolly kidney-warmer and, to cover it all, a cotton and synthetic fibre overall that is FIS-approved.

Male workers see in these girls all last year at Garmisch, Austria's National competitors and fear that the female Moser-Pröll was stark naked could be given preferential treatment under her skisuit as she zoomed down after training. A woman foreman of the workers still seems unimaginable that far," Weinbuch says.

master craftsman as the superior of male workers — at least, this was the case in one company.

Career and promotion chances in trades vary. Some consider them good, others poor.

"The latter view is usually substantiated with arguments other than qualifications," says the report. "Those who are not yet trained until Lake Placid," says Klaus Leister, an Austrian counterpart.

The Austrian skisuit is a virtual second skin. It is opened at the shoulders, and by two tiny zip fasteners.

Nordic skiing: Last season the German langlauf, Nordic combination and

Equipment has more or less reached its limit," says Weinbuch. "We still have something in reserve, but it's strictly secret until Lake Placid," says Klaus Leister, an Austrian counterpart.

They call for more information on training and career demands in male trades.

Moreover, labour protection regulations for women should be reviewed, and, if necessary, adapted to the constant change due to technological progress.

In doing so, slight must not be lost the justified protection women in such positions must enjoy.

The worst psychological stress for girls in overalls is that they consider themselves guinea pigs.

Outsiders who are invited to inspect the training facilities frequently behave as if these girls were some outlandish species.

SPORT Equipment is '20% of ski success'

The success of competitive skiers depends 80 per cent on ability and 20 per cent on equipment, according to Helmut Weinbuch, technical director of the West German Skilling Association.

As an Olympic season gets under way other winter sports associations are echoing this sentiment.

"Equipment tested must give the athlete a feeling of security," Weinbuch says. This is a list of recent improvements.

Alpine skiing: No more than minute changes in detail are permitted in the choice of textiles for skiwear by international ski federation (FIS) regulations.

Regulation suits as approved by the international federation must allow 50 litres of water to pass through a square metre of fabric in a second.

The federation has a test device capable of checking this requirement; it looks like a washing machine.

The racing gear to be worn by West German athletes has been put through its paces in the wind tunnel, but kit is designed with more than aerodynamics in mind.

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It will include an underall with a hand-up collar, special warm knee-length socks, a wide, woolly kidney-warmer and, to cover it all, a cotton and synthetic fibre overall that is FIS-approved.

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biathlon specialists tried out a skisuit in which the synthetic yarn content was higher than the cotton percentage.

This combination of man-made and natural fibre stays dry on the skin regardless of outbreaks of perspiration while allowing the athletes to perspire.

It is to be put to the test again this Olympic winter season. Ski jumpers are to use a new safety binding incorporating a sturdy mechanical plate rather than a flimsy cable.

Bobsled racing: World champion Stefan Gaisreiter is busy testing a new bobsled at Königssee, Bavaria. It was designed by a motor manufacturer, with aerodynamic improvements of his own.

Corners and edges have been straightened, rounded, smoothed. Nuts, bolts and runner struts have been countersunk or clad.

The bob even boasts an inflatable spoiler at the rear, activated by compressed air. But this extra is by no means sure of gaining international approval as a means of ensuring extra roadholding.

Chief coach Wolfgang Zimmerer has a nasty feeling the international association will refuse permission to use this ingenious device.

The GDR has developed special bobs for Lake Placid too, but trials over the next 10 weeks will decide whether they are used or the team management decides to make do with modified Italian bobsleds.

Toboggan racing: All items of equipment must be in keeping with the body-line, the international regulations specify. So egg-shaped aerodynamic crash helmets are out; athletes must wear conventional round helmets again.

"International regulations have grown extremely detailed," says Günter Gscheidlinger of the Bobsled and Toboggan Racing Association.

"Even so, we have tested a variety of equipment we shan't be using. In the end we decided that technical ingenuity gets us nowhere. So we shall be sticking to conventional equipment."

In other words, bobsled and toboggan crews will be wearing normal full-visor crash helmets (because of their lower wind resistance) and streamlined, figure-hugging, glossy suits.

Olympic bronze medalist Elisabeth Demleitner wears only scanties under hers.

Speed skating: Nylon suits with attached hood are the usual gear, but a new skate costing about DM500 incorporates soft upper leather that fits the foot better.

"The athlete feels like he is wearing kid gloves on his feet," says speed skating official Werner Deregoskider.

Klaus Blume
(Die Welt, 16 November 1979)

Czech footballer now wears German national colours

Midfield soccer star Miroslav Votava, 23, first chosen for West Germany against Russia in Tiflis on 21 November, has led a chequered life since his family left Czechoslovakia seven years ago.

It has taken him from Prague to Dortmund, then to Sydney, Australia, and back to Dortmund, where he is now under contract to Bundesliga club Borussia Dortmund.

He is Czech-born and bred but has been a naturalised German for the past 18 months and is now a full international.

Before flying to Tiflis, in Georgia, he could not be sure he would actually be allowed to play. He was more likely to be a substitute and might be forced to sit it out on the bench. (Votava did come on as a substitute after 75 minutes.)

But "I will never be so pleased again to have been a mere substitute," he crowed, so delighted at having been selected for the squad to play the Soviet Union that this seemed no more than a minor detail.

He is an electrician by trade and the veteran of a round-the-world Odyssey that began when his family managed to leave Czechoslovakia after the Prague Spring.

The Votavas made it to the West but were so unhappy with refugee camp life in Zimrdorf, near Nuremberg, that they decided to emigrate to Australia where the family had an aunt and uncle.

"But we had only been in Sydney a week when we started saving for the return tickets to Germany," says Miroslav's father, Josef. "We would never have got used to the strange frame of mind and the hot climate."

The family of four (father, mother and two sons) settled in Witten in the Ruhr, thereby paving the way for Miroslav and his brother Josef to sign for Borussia Dortmund.

Both have inherited their father's soccer skills, learnt as a long-serving national league player for ATK Prague. As schoolboys they both played for Dukla Prague, alongside the son of former Czech soccer star Josef Masopust.

In the Borussia strip, Josef seemed the more talented of the two, but he lacked Miroslav's speed and toughness. He transferred from Borussia Dortmund to Rot-Weiss Lüdenscheid, but has now retired after two knee operations.

Miroslav ("Mirko"), the younger of the two by a couple of years, gained a regular first team place with Borussia at the age of 19.

"I owe most to Otto Knefler and Otto Rehagel," he modestly claims. "And now to Udo Lattek, of course."

Lattek, the current Borussia coach, re-aligned Votava's talents; the unassuming Prague boy used to be rated a purely defensive player.

He has steadily improved and made three outings with the national under-23 side before gaining a full cap.

Mirko is a hard worker off the field too. He has been a married man for several years and is already building his second home in Weller, near Soest.

"Next spring, when the house is ready, I may be in line for a regular slot in the national soccer squad," he hopes.

Frank Berger
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 14 November 1979)



Miroslav Votava
(Photo: Horst Müller)

Mood is against transfer fees

There are many objections to transfer fees in professional soccer. Former German international Paul Breitner says they are such a disgrace that they would be quashed in a court of law.

The Swiss Supreme Court has gone one step further and ruled them illegal. A West Berlin labour tribunal has ordered Tennis Borussia, a second division club, to allow one player a free transfer.

In France and Portugal, players' trade unions have succeeded in scrapping this "latter-day slave trade." But transfers now fall foul of inordinate financial demands by clubs.

So association football pros in France and Portugal are no freer to choose their employer than their counterparts anywhere else in the world.

The West German Football Association regards transfer fees as stipulated in its statutes as a security for clubs. Were they not to exist, smaller clubs would go to the wall much faster.

It has even stipulated how transfer fees are to be calculated, on the basis of the player's earnings in the previous season and his expected earnings in the season to come.

A sum based on the average of these two is to be multiplied by five. Kevin Keegan, for instance, was earning an average DM400,000 per season when he transferred from Liverpool to SV Hamburg.

By the West German equation his transfer fee would be DM2m. That was just what it happened to be.

The trend is an alarming rate of increase. In 1963/64, the first Bundesliga season, the ceiling was DM50,000. It stayed there in 1964/65 too.

From 1965 to 1972 the upper limit, with occasional exceptions, was DM100,000. But for the past seven years there has been no further limit.

Cologne were the first club to pay DM1m, for Belgian international van Gool from Bruges. Keegan cost Hamburg DM2m. Breitner cost DM1.75m when he transferred from Brunswick to Bayern Munich.

The latest record is the DM2.3m. Cologne paid Nottingham Forest for Tony Woodcock.

In England transfer fees come even higher: Manchester City have paid Wolves DM5.7m for Steve Daly.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 9 November 1979)

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